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Netanyahu does it his way

ANALYSIS
By JIM COLLINS

It was a good show with a happy - and predictable - ending from the viewpoint of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. But the road is still a long one. And despite the impression of apparent unity at the Likud central committee meeting in Tel Aviv last night, many twists are still to come.

The prime minister seemed to have two aims at the convention: to show a party with unity and life and to launch his election theme. The first he did with his comments about the big split not happening.

"Unity is much deeper in our ranks than people hoped," he said and praised the "strong roots" based on hundreds of thousands of supporters.

The second aim he fulfilled by pointing a clear direction for the campaign: Arafat wants Ehud Barak or Amnon Lipkin-Shahak. From the start of his speech, Netanyahu noted the May 4 date on which Arafat has said he will declare a Palestinian state and began on to preach much of the right-wing rhetoric in his repertoire: that Arafat wants Israel to go back to the 1947 partition plan; the threat to Jerusalem; and the danger to security of Israelis everywhere without a leader who has proven he can stand up to the Palestinians.

See ANALYSIS, Page 2

PM buoyed by Likud faithful

Livnat 'torn' between party and Meridor

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu kicked off his election campaign last night by telling the Likud central committee that Labor Party and other "left-wing" leaders are eager to set up a Palestinian state.

He also said Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat wants a change of government and prefers a left-wing government.

Sharon and Olmert: We're not running, Page 2
Landau: I am running, Page 3

But the massive support committee members gave Netanyahu at the Tel Aviv Cinerama could not conceal the deepening rift in the Likud leadership. MK Ze'ev (Benny) Begin is expected to announce this morning he is quitting the party and running for prime minister at the head of a new right-wing party.

In addition, persistent rumors said Communications Minister Limor Livnat has made up her mind to leave the Likud and join MK Dan Meridor's new centrist party. Israel Radio said that Livnat intends to quit the cabinet this week and announce her departure from the Likud.

Livnat, who conferred at length with Meridor yesterday morning, said she has not yet reached a decision and confessed to being "torn up inside."

Netanyahu's efforts at reconciliation with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai failed yet again yesterday, and Mordechai continues to fluctuate between staying in the Likud and joining former chief of General Staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak's new party.

The crisis between Netanyahu and Mordechai is apparently so deep that the two men did not meet privately, but had MK Reuven Rivlin present as a mediator. Neither Mordechai, Netanyahu, nor Rivlin would characterize the meeting, but an official in the Prime Minister's Office said the atmosphere was tense.

"They each put their grievances on the table," he said. "It was tense, but there was no blowup."

Earlier yesterday, Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert said he would not run against Netanyahu for the Likud leadership. Olmert had urged Mordechai, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon, and Minister Tourism Moshe Katsav to run against Netanyahu and offered to manage their campaigns, but they all refused and apparently also refused to support Olmert, who finally decided not to risk a showdown.

Mordechai's presence at the central committee meeting was perceived as an indication that he may stay in the Likud. He received a standing ovation when he entered the auditorium, and activists crowded round him, imploring him not to leave the party.

Livnat was also surrounded by activists on arrival. Neither spoke at the meeting.

In his speech, Netanyahu tore into both Labor Party leader Ehud Barak and Shabak, calling them "the open Left" and "the clandestine left." He then launched a dry run of what is seen as his election strategy.

See LIKUD, Page 2



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu reaches out to supporters after addressing last night's Likud central committee meeting in Tel Aviv's Cinerama. (Ulan Ossendyver/Israel Sun)

Lackluster cheerleading from the podium

By NORA GILBERT

Unity was the central theme of last night's Likud central committee meeting in the Tel Aviv Cinerama.

Indeed, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who has faced a more hostile Knesset since the signing of the Wye accord, was treated to a pep rally from the home crowd, who performed in unison and on cue.

The choir's best tune was joining in with Netanyahu's policy song towards the Palestinian Authority: "They'll give and they'll get. They won't give and they won't get."

However, the cheerleading was somewhat lackluster from the podium. Most obviously unexcited by the speeches was Communications Minister Limor Livnat, who spent a great part of the time talking on her cellular phone or fiddling with her glass of water. Livnat has yet to announce whether she intends to stay in the Likud. Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert, who has decided not to run for the party leadership, did not attend and sent his spokesman, Haggai Elias, to the event instead.

Turnout was estimated at some 1,000 out of some 2,700 central committee members, and Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi acknowledged that it was eventually decided to let people in regardless of whether they were committee members or not.

The aim of the meeting was ostensibly to rubber stamp the Likud Knesset faction's decision on dates for the party primary for its candidate for prime minister and setting the list of candidates for the Knesset.

See PODIUM, Page 2

Hadassah's Rachmilewitz to receive reprimand

Dassy Rabinowitz's family decries 'light punishment'

By JUDY SIEGEL

Health Minister Yehoshua Matza yesterday officially accepted a minority committee's unanimous recommendation to reprimand Hadassah-University Hospital hematology department chairman Prof. Eliezer Rachmilewitz regarding the Dassy Rabinowitz case filed against him more than two years ago.

The ministry will take no further steps, and it will now be up to the Hadassah Medical Organization (HMO) to decide whether to take any action, ministry legal adviser Mira Huebner-Harel said yesterday.

HMO management did not comment yesterday as it had not received any material from the ministry, either orally or in writing, on which to base a reaction. The ministry did inform Rachmilewitz and his lawyers, as well as the press, of Matza's decision.

However, *The Jerusalem Post* learned that HMO has already issued an international tender to find a replacement for Rachmilewitz, who is due to retire, at 65, in about 18 months. No one would say whether he will retire early.

The case - publicized with much fanfare by *Ma'ariv* investigative reporter Ronel Fisher - involved Rabinowitz's death in September 1996 from aggressive lymphoma. The Eilat teenager had been treated in Rachmilewitz's department for some time.

When her doctors gave her little hope for recovery, her parents transferred her to Haifa's Rambam Hospital for treatment by another doctor.

They charged that when she suddenly needed an urgent treatment at Hadassah, she was turned away on orders from the department head; Rachmilewitz denied he was arrogant or angry at her for going to his "competitor" at Rambam and claimed she could not be treated at Hadassah because his staff lacked updated reports from the Haifa hospital.

Asked to comment yesterday, Rachmilewitz would only say that "a nightmare of two-and-a-half years is over. I feel relief. I have to digest it."

Asked about his future plans, he would not say anything except "I have continued in my post as usual" since the affair. Rabinowitz's parents, Pini and Bruria, were not available last night for comment.

Several months ago, by a 2-1 vote, the ministry's investigatory committee - comprised of Prof. Manfred Green (head of the Israel Disease Control Center), Dr. Jackie Orr (head of Kaplan Hospital's emergency department), and Haim Goldwater (a lawyer representing Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein) - ruled that Rachmilewitz had been guilty of behavior unbecoming a physician.

When they did not recommend a punishment, Matza returned it to the committee, which finally voted unanimously for a reprimand, similar to those handed out to scores of physicians around the country who "nevertheless continue" to work.

Channel One quoted the Rabinowitz family as calling the reprimand a "light punishment that shows that Rachmilewitz is well-connected."



The son also rises
A Jerusalem schoolgirl pauses yesterday at posters declaring 'Begin to power,' in a reference to Likud MK Ze'ev (Benny) Begin, who is expected to announce his candidacy for prime minister this morning. (Shemtov/Hanari)

Senators: Clinton unlikely to be removed

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Leading Republicans and Democrats said yesterday President Bill Clinton is sure to face an impeachment trial in the Senate over the Monica Lewinsky scandal, but is unlikely to be removed from office.

Senators from both parties said in television talks shows that the process, due to start early next month, should be dealt with as quickly as possible and is most likely to end in a tough centrist resolution against the president.

"I think it's fair to say on a bipartisan basis, the votes today aren't there for impeachment per se," Senate Minority Leader Thomas Daschle said on NBC's *Meet The Press*. "I don't think they're there on either side."

Senators said that if there are not enough votes to convict Clinton, then they should move on to draft a censure resolution.

"If we cannot convict... we're going to have to do the next best thing which is to point out to the American people how really bad [Clinton's] actions were," Sen. Orrin Hatch, a Utah Republican, said on CBS's *Face the Nation*.

"We're going to have to do the very best we can to let the world know that this president has sullied the office, that he has not done what's right, that literally he has brought embarrassment to the nation," said Hatch, the Judiciary Committee chairman.

Kentucky's Mitch McConnell, Rules Committee chairman, said on Fox News that the Senate should vote on the two articles of impeachment before considering any censure resolution.

"I think we owe it to the House of Representatives to dispose of the articles of impeachment, up or down," he said.

The presidential trial is scheduled to begin on or about January 7 or 8, shortly after the Senate reconvenes from its winter break, said Daschle, a South Dakota Democrat.

Former presidential candidate and senator Bob Dole, said on *Face The Nation* that party leaders in the senate should be able to put together an agreement on censure.

He suggested senators put the two articles of impeachment in a joint resolution which Clinton would sign in a public ceremony "which would acknowledge the fact that he lied."

Refugee camp sees Netanyahu headed for victory

By BEN LYNFIELD

As he looks ahead to a grueling campaign, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu may be able to take comfort from an unlikely source: Residents of Bethlehem's Azza refugee camp are already predicting he will trounce Ehud Barak.

The tiny camp, whose grey walls are adorned with Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine graffiti, would at first glance seem an unlikely place for pundits on Israeli politics.

Yet, ask Shibli Azza, 32, a mathematics teacher, who Israel's minister of labor and social affairs is and he will rattle it off: "Eli Yishai."

"Interior is Eli Suissa," he adds, just to show off his knowledge of Israeli politics, refined since he began studying it in Ketzot Prison during the intifada.

Who will win the elections? "Netanyahu will have a better opportunity to win because he has charisma," says Azza, whose last name is shared by most of the camp's 1,400 residents. They are members of the same extended family that has its origins in Beit Jubrin.

Another helpful electoral quality Azza attributes to Netanyahu is deceitfulness. "He is a liar - and that is why he will win."

Residents interviewed yesterday heaped vituperation on Netanyahu for expanding settlements, "not releasing Palestinian political prisoners, and heading an Israel that denies their basic grievances as 1948 refugees and their right to return to Beit Jubrin, now Beit Guvrin, a kibbutz established on their former fields."

But many also voiced grudging respect for Netanyahu's skills as a politician and predicted he would defeat his rivals, Barak and Amnon Lipkin-Shahak.

In this poor but well-educated camp, the election campaign is bringing to the fore doubts about whether Left, Right, or Center wins, dreary day-to-day living conditions will ever change. Today, the chief problem is unemployment, which has soared in recent years as a result of strictures on entry into Israel. The strictures were tightened after a spate of Hamas suicide bombings.

Still, some residents have begun to closely follow the campaign, either out of a remote hope that Netanyahu can be ousted, or a curiosity born of experiencing Israel as a hard-hitting jailer, while watching it on television as a democracy for its own citizens.

Hussein Keisi, a construction worker, termed the elections "an exercise to delay implementation [of the Wye agreement]. They don't want peace, they want land without our people, they want everything without giving anything."

See REFUGEE, Page 2

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Elections '99

NEWS

in brief

Three remanded in student's rape

Police have arrested three men on suspicion of raping a woman student at students' dormitories in Haifa's Neveh Sha'an section at the end of last week. The suspects, all from Upper Nazareth were remanded for three days by Haifa Magistrate's Court on Saturday night. They reportedly admitted having sex with the student, 20, but denied the allegation of rape.

Haifa police spokesman Supt. Moshe Nissan said the woman said she had sought the help of one of the suspects, who was studying with her on a preparatory course at Haifa University. The suspect was with two friends and they went back to his apartment in the dormitories.

David-Ridge

Police for indicting Army Radio eavesdroppers

Tel Aviv police yesterday transferred the material they have accumulated in the journalists' eavesdropping case to the state prosecutor and recommended that Army Radio reporters Yair Ben-Yehuda and Hadas Steif stand trial.

Tel Aviv police chief Cmdr. Shlomo Aharonishky told reporters that he recommended indictment of crime reporter Ben-Yehuda for eavesdropping on police phone conversations and of Steif who supplied Ben-Yehuda with the code that enabled him to listen to them. Police are investigating the officer who supplied Steif with the code.

Itim

Jewish group to move into Silwan soon

The Elad group said yesterday it plans to soon occupy 10 buildings it owns in Jerusalem's Silwan neighborhood. Until the Jewish families waiting to move in do so, Elad has allowed Arab workers to live in the buildings.

Elad said it hopes to move into the buildings in the coming months, but is waiting for the "right timing" - when this will not cause an uproar. There are 20 Jewish families, all members of Elad, already living in the predominantly Arab neighborhood, and more have signed up to move in.

Itim

US Holocaust scholar Perl dies

Holocaust survivor and scholar William Perl died on December 24 at his home in Maryland. He was 92.

Best known for his role in organizing "The Action," a rescue effort that smuggled 40,000 Jews out of Nazi occupied Europe into Palestine in the late 1930s and 40s, Perl received awards and recognition from Israel, his native Vienna, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, and film director Steven Spielberg.

He was one of the first scholars to draw attention to the role of European nations and banking systems, such as Switzerland's, in facilitating the Holocaust. Perl was the author of three books and numerous articles on the Holocaust. He is survived by his wife, two sons, and four grandchildren.

Jerusalem Post Staff

Cabinet debate on Lebanon continues

The security cabinet is to reconvene this evening and continue discussions on the situation in Lebanon. At yesterday's meeting, military and intelligence officials presented a number of assessments of the problem, and several possible plans of action.

At today's meeting, the ministers will present their positions. Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon is expected to explain his preference for a staged withdrawal while Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai is expected to voice his objection to such a redeployment. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has yet to take a stand on one solution or another.

Danna Harman

Moussa: Wye and elections aren't connected

"Since the signing of the Camp David Accords, the past two and a half years have been the absolute worst in terms of the Egyptian-Israeli relationship," Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said in a meeting with MK Yossi Beilin yesterday in Cairo.

Danna Harman

PODIUM

Continued from Page 1

But the event was first and foremost a chance for Netanyahu to get a boost from his supporters and for other Likud figures to shore up support for their upcoming bids for party leadership and key slots on the Knesset list. Among those who were making extra rounds was former cabinet secretary Dan Naveh, who left his post to run for the Knesset.

Likud activists were also in campaign mode, distributing stickers and posters. One pro-Netanyahu sticker said: "The Knesset brought down; the people will bring back Netanyahu." Deputy Minister Michael Eitan got a fair amount of attention by wearing a badge reading: "I am steadfast [Eitan] in the Likud."

One central committee member, Yitzhak Boharon, congratulated

Landau on his candidacy. He said that although he is a Netanyahu supporter, he believes in the party's democracy and the need for disagreements to be worked out within the party. "Those who left the party won't find themselves in politics anymore unless they come back," he said.

Livnat and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai were also received with enthusiastic chants. The crowd called on Livnat "to stay with us."

Mordechai became the hero of the evening when he jumped from his seat to pour water on a security officer, guarding the stage, who had fainted.

Before the convention, coalition chairman Meir Sheetrit tried to downplay any possibility that the evening would lead to a political explosion. Indeed, he had equipped himself with a novel which he clung to throughout the evening.

Olmert won't challenge Netanyahu

By AMY KLEIN and news agencies

Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert announced yesterday that he won't run against Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for the leadership of the Likud.

Olmert made his announcement hours before yesterday's Likud central committee meeting, which he was not expected to attend.

Olmert decided not to enter the race after he failed to obtain a wide range of support from minis-

ters and MKs.

Last week, to assess his chances, he met with various Likud members, among them Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav.

Yesterday Olmert said he had considered running because many people had urged him to challenge Netanyahu to keep the Likud together, but "I have come to the conclusion that at this stage the [necessary] conditions have not come to fruition, and therefore I

will not present my candidacy for head of the Likud at this time." Olmert, leader of a drive to tighten Israel's hold on Jerusalem, said many right-wingers had urged him to challenge Netanyahu.

Netanyahu loyalist, Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, welcomed Olmert's announcement, telling Israel Radio that the decision represented "the start of Likud's recovery and its exit from the crisis."

Olmert, 53, won his second term

as mayor of Jerusalem six weeks ago by a 61 percent margin. After his victory, he resigned from the Knesset as mandated by law, which forbids holding both jobs simultaneously.

If he had replaced Netanyahu as Likud leader, Olmert would have had to rejoin the Knesset and resign as mayor. His United Jerusalem list garnered only three seats on city council, and he has yet to put together a coalition.

During his campaign he

promised to remain mayor for the entire term, upcoming national elections notwithstanding.

"I'm running in order to serve the city and my purpose is to stay here five years. I'm really not responsible for all these predictions [that he will abandon the mayoralty] and I'm certainly flattered by the fact that so many imaginative journalists consider me a potential candidate [for prime minister]," he told *The Jerusalem Post* during the campaign.



Yitzhak on the spot
Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai pours water on the head of a security guard who fainted during last night's Likud central committee meeting.

(Dan Ossendyev/Israel Sun)

US Conservative leaders: Stop religious parties' election blackmail

The proponents of legislation to circumvent the decisions of the High Court of Justice on religious issues are exploiting the present period of political uncertainty to push through their agenda, according to the leaders of the Conservative movement in the US.

ELECTIONS NOTEBOOK

In a letter to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Rabbi Ismar Schorsch, chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and other Conservative leaders note that the bill which would nullify the court order to seat Reform and Conservative representatives on religious councils, is due for first reading today. They also point out that a conversion bill, which would recognize the Chief Rabbinate as the sole arbiter on the validity of conversions, is also being considered.

Schorsch and his colleagues ask Netanyahu to use his influence to avoid consideration of either bill, to prevent a potential rupture between Israel and Diaspora Jewry.

make territorial concessions. Committee leaders expressed dismay over recent reports that Netanyahu is prepared for a withdrawal on the Golan Heights as part of a coalition agreement with the Labor Party.

GRC chairman Avi Zeira and

Kanaria Local Council head Sammy Bar-Lev said that even if the reports were incorrect, Netanyahu had been quoted in a recent newspaper article as saying that he would countenance territorial concessions in return for a peace accord with Syria.

Netanyahu has denied the reports.

"Such comments are shocking and undermine the moral base on which you were elected," Zeira and Bar-Lev wrote to Netanyahu.

They said his reported willingness to abandon his stated commitment that the Golan would remain an integral part of Israel in preference for a coalition accord was a body blow to "everything we have done together."

"Nevertheless, we have not given up hope and we still believe in your commitment to the Golan," they said, noting that the first reading of the bill was due later this week.

REFUGEE

Continued from Page 1

But he added that for Israelis, Netanyahu has been a good prime minister. "He has a political mind, he loves his people, and he didn't do anything except for the benefit of his people."

Kaissi cited settlement activity as an example of how Netanyahu has acted in Israel's interest, an assertion that would no doubt be contested by some Israelis.

Moreover, he said Netanyahu outfoxed Palestinian Authority

Chairman Arafat during the negotiations leading up to the Wye agreement. "He went to Wye Plantation and agreed with Abu Amar [Arafat] on the release of prisoners. But Netanyahu didn't sign anything. He gave oral promises and Abu Amar accepted them."

In Kaissi's view, there is no real difference in political philosophy between Netanyahu and Barak. "This election will have no impact on the situation. We have experience with the Israelis from 1967 until today. They like to speak about peace, but it is all a game."

Sharon: I'm not running

By NINA GILBERT

Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon is not interested in running for prime minister, he announced unequivocally last night. He called on the Likud to back Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as party leader.

Sharon provided the one moment of suspense in the otherwise anticlimactic central committee meeting, when he took to the podium and said: "I have an announcement to make."

As the crowd gasped, Sharon eased its fears by saying: "I don't want to be prime minister. What I do want is to bring unity to the

national camp."

Sharon said he did not object to a contest for party leadership, and called on those who want to compete "to do so honorably."

However, he said his objection is to "the attacks from within and from without since the establishment of the government."

In remarks aimed at those who have left the party, including Dan Meridor, and others who have been attempting to organize a move to overthrow Netanyahu, Sharon said that even when he had criticism of the government, "I knew when to stop."

If we don't stop, he warned, "we will fall apart."

Sharon's announcement came after days of rumors that he was holding talks with potential Netanyahu rivals.

At the same time, Sharon called on Netanyahu to make efforts to boost the teamwork among the Likud leadership. In doing so, Sharon made a point to mention Communications Minister Limor Livnat and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, neither of whom spoke last night.

"We have a wonderful team," Sharon said, "but if Bibi doesn't win, it will be a loss for all of us. We must unify behind the candidate who has the best chances, and today it is Benjamin Netanyahu."

ANALYSIS

Continued from Page 1

Netanyahu also stressed that his government has stood firmly by its promise to continue with the Oslo process, but only while insisting on reciprocity and limiting the damage of what he sees as a lousy agreement.

It was a speech implying that Netanyahu has already accepted the loss of Begin and knows who he is up against from both Right and Left.

In one area he has scored a victory over both Barak and Shahak.

Netanyahu has moved fast. Since the Likud has already chosen the dates for its internal selection of candidates for prime minister, he has a head start over those who have yet to start the process.

Netanyahu is using his political savvy and survival instincts and not only is he still in the running, he is going in the direction he set himself; no wonder he does not want to take back those who leave him on the way.

After all the talk about who would try to fight Netanyahu from within the Likud, the one candidate is Landau. He has got rid of troublemakers Dan Meridor and

Begin while Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert and Defense Minister Mordechai are not competing against him.

Landau might be head of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and have a reputation as the MK with the most integrity, but he has no ministerial experience and the race is almost over.

In any event, Netanyahu knows where he's going; how he intends to get there; who's coming with him; and what dangers to expect on the way. Now all he needs to know is how much time he has for the election trail.

LIKUD

Continued from Page 1

"On May 4, Yasser Arafat intends to unilaterally announce the establishment of a Palestinian state whose capital is Jerusalem. Now I hear he's considering delaying this announcement so it won't help me win the elections. Arafat wants a change of government. He wants to hold the final-state talks with a left-wing government."

Netanyahu said Arafat is talking not of the 1967 borders, but the borders proposed in the 1947 UN partition plan. "This includes Beersheba and Ashkelon. Anyone here from Beersheba?"

A cheer arose. "Don't cheer," snapped Netanyahu. "They're talking of continuing their fight until they reach their goal, an inde-

pendent Palestinian state whose capital is holy Jerusalem."

He accused the Labor government of giving the Palestinians everything they wanted and today's Labor leaders of "running eagerly" to set up a Palestinian state.

"This state will be a base for terrorism against us. We're acting to change this direction to a safe course," Netanyahu said.

Netanyahu accused the media of magnifying the crisis in the Likud. "The media keep talking of an earthquake and some great explosion. That's the same media which promised Labor would win the elections. Well, the earth isn't shaking; the Likud is firm and strong."

The committee approved by an overwhelming majority a proposal that its members elect the party's Knesset list on February 8, and to hold open primaries for party

leader on January 25. If no candidate gets more than 40 percent of the vote, a second round will be held on February 2.

Barak, in an interview on Channel 1, blasted Netanyahu for alleging that "Arafat wants a Labor government."

"Imagine if I said Hamas prefers Netanyahu as prime minister. Who can accept such talk?" he asked, accusing the prime minister of conducting an ongoing campaign of incitement. "The one leading Israel to disaster is this smug, complacent man, leading us on a collision course with an iceberg," Barak said.

Earlier in the day, Olmert denounced central committee member Uzi Cohen for saying MKs who are not completely loyal to Netanyahu would pay for it.

Danna Harman contributed to this report.

We mourn the untimely passing of our dear friend
TIBOR PIVKO
מיכאל פיוק
Bratislava - New York
and extend sincere condolences to his wife,
children and grandchildren
The funeral will take place today, Monday, December 28, 1998,
at 3 p.m. at the Carmel Yosef cemetery
Shiva at the home of Avraham (Bondi) Livnat, 18 Hazayit,
Carmel Yosef (Tel. 08-928-6237)
His friends from the VI Battalion

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
and JDC-Israel
extend heartfelt condolences to
Vicky Mevorach
on the loss of her father
GAVRIEL COHEN ז"ל
May his memory be a blessing and comfort
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סניף מרכזי

Experts expect dirtiest election campaign ever

By NAOMI SIMONS

The upcoming election campaign is likely to be the most vicious and personal ever seen in Israel thanks to the influence of imported US "spin-doctors" and the rise of American-style methods, according to local media consultants.

Dr. Yair Ben-Eliezer, Dean of the School of Communications at Tel Aviv University and a top media consultant, predicts that the main contenders will viciously attack each other's careers and private lives and that the debate could descend into a battle of personal slurs. "It is going to be very personal and very bloody. It is going to be like a fist fight," he said.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's use of US media specialist Arthur Finkelstein in the last election helped transform him into what Ben-Eliezer considers to be the ultimate "media-man". Now Labor leader Ehud Barak has enlisted the services of James Carville and Stanley Greenberg who helped mastermind Bill Clinton's rise to the top.

The campaigns will be much gristier and more personal because of the experts brought from Europe and America, agrees Menachem Sheizaf, who runs his own media consultancy firm.

Ben-Eliezer, who in the past has advised Tsomet and the Histaadrai on their media campaigns, says that Netanyahu's opponents will probably accuse him of being a "media-gimmick", a liar, of having

a weak personality and no plan except the plan to survive. Barak's enemies will say that he is vague about his policies and will undoubtedly dig up the old nickname "Ehud Barach" (Ehud ran away), which refers to Barak's suspected involvement in the Tze'elim B affair, of which he was cleared.

Netanyahu's camp will be especially eager to attack Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, should he decide to stand for prime minister, according to Ben-Eliezer. He also predicts that the media will make a meal of any dirt that Shahak's opponents can dig up about his private life.

"Shahak was immune [to media criticism] while chief of staff because the army is a 'sacred cow' but there is no immunity in politics," he said.

The obsession with the private lives of politicians is relatively new in Israeli politics. As Sheizaf points out, the country has not traditionally taken much interest in the personal affairs of its leaders.

"It is only since Bibi became prime minister, that [the PM's] personal life is always involved," said Sheizaf, noting that Netanyahu often takes his wife and children with him to public occasions in the American style, which bears the fingerprints of his US advisors.

Neither Ben-Eliezer nor Sheizaf are yet certain what their role will be in the upcoming election period but both are steeling themselves for an out-and-out battle.

Landau challenges PM

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

MK Uzi Landau, chairman of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, announced yesterday he would contend against Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for the Likud's leadership and candidacy for prime minister.

Blasting Netanyahu's leadership, Landau said the Likud had become a one-man party.

"The Likud has turned into a party for the moment, whose leadership changes its principles according to the wind's direction. It has become a weathervane for rating. Just to do well in the polls and win. Such a victory is not real, and this is not a real leadership," Landau said at a press conference in Tel Aviv.

"Leaders must lead. We cannot choose the Likud's leader just because of his convincing looks and his excellent appearance on television. We must see whether he represents the Likud's principles and whether he will stick to its principles and positions. I will do so," Landau said.

Landau was accompanied by former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, who spoke in his support. Dozens of activists and supporters filled a room of Beit Sokolov in Tel Aviv, including Yossi Ben-Aharon who was director-general of the Prime Minister's Office during Shamir's term and Yossi Ahimeir, who was Shamir's bureau chief.

Landau said he knew his chances of beating Netanyahu were slim, but his sense of justice and duty obliged him to offer party members "an authentic, reliable leadership." He said he was not acting on the basis of surveys but out of his deep conviction that the Likud needs a



Former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir gestures to Uzi Landau at a news conference yesterday. In announcing his candidacy for prime minister, Landau said, "I won't leave the party, the Likud is our home."

real leadership.

"When I see the injustice in the Likud, the distortion of the movement, I feel the need to do something."

The public is losing confidence in the democratic system, because of the base norms introduced by the politicians. The public has had enough. The public is thirsty for a clean government. The members of the right wing are looking for a political

home," Landau said.

In contrast to MKs Ze'ev Binyamin Begin, Dan Meridor and others, Landau said he chose to fight for leadership within the party, and would not leave it even if he loses the showdown. "I won't leave the party, the Likud is our home. This is my effort to bring the movement back on the right track, to regain its soul, win back the hope for its members and make its activists proud again. I see all the 'political

surfers' looking for a party to join to ensure their place in the next Knesset. The public doesn't need any more surfers, but captains. I'm offering a way," he said.

Landau said he regards the Oslo and Wye agreements as a danger to the state's security, but could not cancel them, only insist that everything is done to minimize their damage.

"The state is running in all directions without knowing

where and without asking any questions. We must rethink carefully, and re-evaluate the situation towards the next millennium," he said.

Shamir said if things had been different he should have been speaking at the central committee in support of Landau's candidacy. "To my regret things have changed and I cannot be sure that people like Landau and Begin can be elected to the appropriate positions."

Weizman favors March or April election date

By BAT-SHEVA TSUR

Citing the dangers to the economy and the peace process, President Ezer Weizman today plans to meet with the leaders of the two large parties in an effort to arrange early elections.

Weizman is due to hold a discussion with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu over breakfast - their first in close to two months - and later to meet with Labor Party leader Ehud Barak.

He will try to convince them to agree to a date in March or, at the latest, April for the holding of the elections.

Weizman said yesterday that he is convinced that it is imperative to shorten the period during which there will be an interim government in office.

Speaking during a meeting with Shas leader Aryeh Deri, said it was in the country's best interests to set an early election date. He stressed that a prolonged election campaign could further weaken the ailing economy, increase unemployment, and jeopardize the

peace process.

"He stressed, too, that foreign relations could not afford to be put on hold for a prolonged period."

Weizman said he had told Netanyahu that this was the only rational alternative already in the summer when the idea of a national referendum was dropped.

The president said that there is now no point in trying to set up a national unity government - an idea touted by Deri and proposed by the Shas leader before the fateful vote last week. There had been contacts on this issue, Weizman said, but all the attempts had failed.

Emerging from his meeting at Beit Hanassi, Deri said he agrees that there is no future to such a move. It is therefore best to hold elections as soon as possible, he said.

Deri was the first faction head to meet with Weizman since the vote for early elections last week.

Weizman plans to meet with the leaders of Meretz, the National Religious Party, and the Arab factions during the coming week.

Meretz rejects primaries in favor of convention

By LIAT COLLINS

The Meretz Council yesterday determined that the party will choose its candidates for the next Knesset through a special party convention and not primary elections, as in 1996.

The council rejected by a large majority the suggestion by MK Dedi Zucker that the candidates be chosen by open primary elections, in which even people who are not full members of Meretz could participate.

Meretz leader Yossi Sarid and MK Ran Cohen, who last week supported the primary election system, did not push for it yesterday.

Meretz spokesman Yossi Gazit said the main considerations for going with the special party convention are the lack of time and the expense involved in a primary, along with the fact that it would favor the current composition of its Knesset faction and not necessarily provide enough time for new candidates to get organized.

Gazit said the party aims at finishing the entire procedure by February 1.

The special convention will meet to authorize last night's decision and after that the council will draw up a list of 22 to 25 candidates. Ten days later, it will reconvene to determine each candidate's position on the slate.

Although Sarid did not repeat his call for March general elections or specifically mention a date, Gazit said Meretz wants the elections as soon as possible and certainly before the June 1 date which has been proposed.

This morning coalition whip Meir Sheerit and Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi are to meet with Labor whip Elie Goldschmidt and Labor MK Uzi Baram to try to agree on a date for the elections. The Knesset Law Committee postponed its meeting on the subject to tomorrow in the hope that the two main parties will have reached an agreement by then. It was Law Committee chairman Hanan Porat (National Religious Party) who suggested the June 1 date.

Shas leader Aryeh Deri has reportedly called for an earlier date now that his proposal for a national unity government has failed to gain support.

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NEWS

in brief

Slain border policeman Ben-Zichri buried

Border policeman First Sgt.-Maj. Doron Ben-Zichri, 26, who died Thursday night, 3 1/2 years after being wounded in an anti-terrorist operation, was buried yesterday in Nahariya Cemetery's military section. Ben-Zichri was shot in the head during an operation by his anti-terror unit in June 1995 to capture Taber Kapishba, a Hebron Hamas cell leader responsible for killing six Israelis. Kapishba was killed as he tried to flee from a house after opening fire. Ben-Zichri never regained consciousness after he was shot.



Doron Ben-Zichri

He was eulogized by Inspector-General Yehuda Wilk, who said, "As was his custom he was at the head of the force where the best are found." Dozens of his comrades attended the funeral. *Itim*

Border policeman remanded in theft

A Jerusalem border policeman was arrested Saturday on suspicion of stealing, the Justice Ministry said yesterday. The Jerusalem Magistrate's Court has remanded the suspect for eight days. Jerusalem police arrested the suspect and a minor at 3 a.m. near the Rav Chen movie complex in the Talpiot neighborhood because they looked suspicious.

The Justice Ministry's police investigation unit found that the suspect had broken into a number of cars and had stolen things from them. Some of the property has been recovered from a hiding place near Teddy Stadium in the Malha neighborhood. *Amy Klein*

Suspect cleared in Old City bombing

Jerusalem police yesterday lifted the publication ban on the identity of the man originally suspected of detonating a bomb in Jerusalem's Old City last Sunday. Police released Michael Sedgwick, 53, an immigrant from England, because he set off the bomb inadvertently.

Sedgwick was on his way back to his hostel in the Old City at 1:15 a.m. last Sunday when he touched a briefcase placed near the New Gate in the Christian Quarter. The briefcase exploded, cutting off Sedgwick's left hand. He is currently listed in satisfactory to good condition at Shaare Zedek Hospital.

Police have not yet arrested any other suspects connected with the bomb and do not know whether the perpetrators are Arab or Jewish, said Jerusalem police spokesman Shmuel Ben-Ruby. *Amy Klein*

Charges dropped against 11 students

Police yesterday agreed to drop charges against 11 students who participated in demonstrations during the recent student strike. A spokeswoman for the students claimed that the charges were dropped because of a lack of public interest. Charges are still pending against 49 students, including some of the leaders of the strike. National Council of Israeli Students chairman Lior Rothbart expressed the hope that the charges against them would be dropped as well, noting that the demonstrations were "our full right in a democratic state." *Aryeh Dean Cohen*

World Mental Health Day today

The more than 120,000 emotionally disabled Israelis will be remembered today, as the Health Ministry marks World Mental Health Day for the first time. The National Forum of Families of the Emotionally Disabled, which was established five years ago, says it will continue to fight for patients' rights to highly subsidized medications and for including psychiatric care in the basket of health services.

The ministry will mark the day with a large symposium on "Patients' Rights" at the Shalom Hotel in Jerusalem, and Health Minister Yehoshua Mazza will greet the audience. Panels of experts and family representatives will discuss hypothetical medical and ethical dilemmas facing professionals in psychiatric institutions. *Judy Siegel*

Ministry wants Hasharon Hotel pool closed

The Health Ministry has asked the Herzliya Municipality to cancel the business license of the Hasharon Hotel pool and to file a suit against management for failing to repair shortcomings that "endanger the public health."

Among the problems were the lack of a device to measure the concentration of disinfectant chemicals and the use of chemicals not approved by the ministry for swimming pools. Ministry inspectors also detected problems with the filters, and the toilets were found to be dirty in a way that posed a danger to the public health, they added. The ministry said it had repeatedly asked the hotel to repair the problems but that it had not done so. *Judy Siegel*

IMA to keep investigations confidential

The Israel Medical Association (IMA) yesterday endorsed recommendations by a Health Ministry committee on medical negligence that proceedings at investigatory committees should be kept secret so doctors would not be afraid to give evidence. The Kling Committee's recommendations – first reported by *The Jerusalem Post* on Friday – have not yet appeared in their draft form in public, as the ministry's Internet site with the whole text continues to be out of order. The 140-page document was supposed to appear on a section of the ministry's Internet site (www.health.gov.il/dh) in Hebrew starting last Thursday. *Judy Siegel*

Monitoring panel condemns Lebanon for Katyusha attack

By DAVID HUDGE

The Grapes of Wrath monitoring group yesterday denounced Lebanon for the Katyusha rocket attacks on Kiryat Shmona and other parts of the Galilee last Wednesday.

The IDF Spokesman said in a statement that the five-nation committee had determined that the rocket barrage was an intentional retaliatory act and as such was a violation of the understandings reached at the end of Operation Grapes of Wrath in April 1996.

The statement said the monitoring group had recognized that deaths of a Lebanese

woman and six of her children in an IAF strike near Janta village was accidental.

Nevertheless, the committee condemned Israel for the results of the raid, which had been aimed at an Hizbullah training base in the northern part of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, near Janta.

The monitoring group, composed of representatives from America, France, Israel, Syria, and Lebanon, yesterday concluded its discussions into complaints submitted by Israel and Lebanon over the recent incidents.

The committee, which was established to supervise the understandings, called on Israel and Lebanon to submit to it any complaints about accident or intentional violations and

thereby prevent an escalation of violence.

The meeting of the monitoring group at UNIFIL's headquarters in Nakoura had barely finished before renewed fighting broke out in the security zone, with South Lebanese Army positions in the eastern sector coming under mortar and recoilless rifle fire. There were no casualties in the attacks, for which Hizbullah claimed responsibility, and IDF and SLA gunners returned fire.

Meanwhile, members of the Knesset's interior committee yesterday visited Kiryat Shmona and other communities in the North that were struck by Hizbullah Katyushas last week.

The visit occurred amid arguments

between local residents whose homes or businesses were hit and members of the Property Tax department, whose assessors have been estimating the cost of the damage. Some residents complained they are being offered insufficient compensation for belongings and property damaged or destroyed in the rocket barrage.

Udi Barzilai, responsible for the Property Tax in the Income Tax Authority, denied the allegations and stressed that the sole intention is to help residents.

Barzilai, in an interview on Israel Radio, said the aim is to return the situation to what it was before the rocket attacks and that residents would be fully compensated.



Tree planters

Officers of the Alpha Omega international Jewish dental fraternity, here for their 91st convention, pose yesterday before planting saplings in the JNF forest in Jerusalem's Kiryat Menahem section. Seated (l-r): Richard Shapiro, international treasurer (Atlanta, GA); Donald Scheroff, int'l president (Westchester, NY); Joel Schaumburg, int'l president-elect (Detroit, MI); Barry Choppin, int'l editor (Toronto, ON). Standing (l-r): Jennifer Schaumburg, int'l student officer (Detroit, MI); Michael Kohlerter, int'l secretary (Dallas, TX); Gary Scheroff, int'l trustee (Westchester, NY); Jeff Henkin, chairman, board of trustees (Miami, FL); Arnold Feldman, int'l trustee (Washington, DC); Steven Kahen, past int'l president (Washington, DC); Shane Fisher, int'l student officer (Indianapolis, IN); Sidney Tourial, Alpha Omega Foundation chairman (Atlanta, GA). *(Joe Malcolm)*

Ein Kerem residents oppose building plan

By AMY KLEIN

Residents of Jerusalem's Ein Kerem neighborhood are taking advantage of a little-known clause in the building and planning code in an attempt to thwart a major construction plan. The case could set a precedent that would help residents challenge construction plans in other towns and cities, an official with the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel said.

The Ein Kerem residents' committee submitted its own master plan last week to the Jerusalem Municipality to counter seven building projects planned for Ein Kerem by the Israel Lands Authority, the Jerusalem Municipality and private people, said the committee's chairperson, Pina En Mor.

En Mor said the residents' plan seeks to limit the damage to the landscape while providing for tourism, ecology, transportation and housing in a unified, rather than haphazard, manner.

Ein Kerem, a southwestern Jerusalem neighborhood located in a basin between the Herzl, Ora and Harat hills, is said to be the birthplace of John the Baptist and is visited by thousands of Christian and Israeli tourists each year.

The residents' committee claims the planned housing projects – including a private one for a five-

story hotel which has already been approved despite the fact that no parking lot accompanies it – would take up hundreds of dunams of land currently in and around Ein Kerem, including part of the Jerusalem Forest, the slope beneath the road to Hadassah hospital and the ancient olive groves west of the neighborhood.

It was a relatively new provision that allowed the Ein Kerem committee to submit an alternate plan. Provision 61a (b), created in 1996, allows someone with interest in the land – such as the residents – to submit a building plan for the property.

Previously, only the municipality could submit a master plan, and the recourse for the residents and other bodies who might oppose the plan – such as the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel – would be to wait until after plans had been submitted and only then register formal opposition.

"Israeli planning law is much more restrictive in the opportunities it gives its citizens to make objections as compared to American and British law," said Chaim Palkoff, the economic advisor to the deputy minister of housing. "The provision was added to the law in order to give citizens a meaningful opportunity to shape their neighborhoods."

Yet whether the law is effective – if the submitted plans are actually approved – is another matter.

Tora Barin, the Interior Ministry official responsible for inspecting plans on the ministerial level, said there are dozens of cases where citizens have used this law. Often, she said, when alternative plans have been drawn up by a private party, the municipality will adopt it or incorporate sections of it into the final plan. But Barin said she has never seen a case where a plan for an entire neighborhood was approved over the ones slotted by the municipality and the Israel Lands Authority.

Building and planning authorities are like courts: Plans must first be submitted to a local authority and if rejected or not inspected within 60 days, they can be submitted to the district authority. The municipality and the Israel Lands Authority are both invited to submit their recommendations at each level.

This is why, said SPNI Jerusalem Director Nomi Tsur, communities never do what the Ein Kerem committee has done. "The planning establishment has money and political power on its side. The academic, environmental and grass-roots organizations of residents rarely have the money and time to fight for their neighborhoods."

The cost can run to hundreds of thousands of shekels, Tsur said.

The SPNI is considering the proposal of legislation which would force municipalities to hold a public hearing on their plans before they are submitted, so that residents will be informed and prepared to take action in the event they are dissatisfied.

Meanwhile, the Jerusalem municipality has less than 60 days to respond to Ein Kerem's master plan. A municipality spokeswoman said they also want to preserve the external basin of Ein Kerem and "if convinced that the current master plan for Ein Kerem is faulty, we will oppose it."

She said that the hotel in the center of Ein Kerem on Ha-Ma'ayan street was approved by the planning committee in order to "strengthen the tourist element of the community."

Opponents of the Ein Kerem plan claim the residents' interests are myopic. "They are very egotistical and watching out for their own bottom line," said Haim Lomer, an architect who is designing the plans for a housing project in ILA-owned land in Ein Kerem. "They don't own the land, never paid for it, and so of course they don't want it to be built up right near their houses. Not everyone gets what he wants at the expense of others."

Group formed to help reclaim survivors' assets

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Help is being offered to those interested in filing claims to recover private assets in Poland and other countries – worth billions of dollars – which belonged to Holocaust victims or survivors by a new non-profit organization, its organizers announced yesterday.

The Organization for the Return of Jewish Private Property will function on both the international and local levels, according to its chairman, lawyer Aryeh Edelist. The group plans to aid those whose property was turned over to the local government or to others who are neither its owners nor their heirs.

It will also deal with locating Jewish property, its owners, and handling requests for compensation. Attempts will also be made to block the sale or transfer of property owned by Jews confiscated during the Holocaust or expropriated by the government, or held by third parties on behalf of the government.

The organization will also offer preservation and administration services, and advice to owners, their heirs, or those holding the rights to such property.

Businessman Eli Gat has been appointed director-general of the organization, and other members include Noah Flug, secretary-general of the Center of Organizations of Holocaust Survivors in Israel, and journalists and authors Zvi Gil and Alex Klugman.

The organization plans to focus first on changing Polish law to allow anyone who owned property on the eve of World War II or any other living anywhere in the world to claim it.

"The law in Poland today prevents most of the owners or their heirs from reclaiming the property, because the law only permits those who were Polish citizens at the time of the expropriation or confiscation to seek its return. Most of the Jews of Poland left at the beginning of the 1950s," Edelist explained.

There have been reports of Jews or their heirs succeeding in recovering property through lawyers based here or in Poland after lengthy legal procedures, mainly those whose family members filed claims immediately after the Holocaust.

"There have been isolated instances of Jews able to reclaim property," Edelist said, "but the overwhelming majority has not been able to do so."

The organization plans to pressure the Polish government regarding pending legislation on this issue, and aid owners of assets and their heirs to file claims.

Retired judge Moshe Necht, also a member of the new organization, criticized the World Jewish Restitution Organization for not dealing with private property. Flug, who also is secretary-general of the WJRO, said that while the WJRO had pledged to do so, it had not yet taken action. He said the new body is not intended to compete with the WJRO, but rather "we expect the full cooperation of the WJRO and financial assistance from it for our activities."

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Heavy fighting erupts in Kosovo

By NUSHA SAVIC

OBRANCA, Yugoslavia (AP) — Serbian police and ethnic Albanian rebels waged a fierce battle yesterday around a guerrilla stronghold, exchanging fire with artillery, mortars, and grenades in northern Kosovo.

Police wearing flak jackets and helmets fired from trenches at the outskirts of Obranca village toward neighboring Lapastica — the Kosovo Liberation Army stronghold that appears to be the main target of their four-day-old offensive.

The ethnic Albanians accused police of opening fire first yesterday morning, but rebels were shooting back heavily.

The crackdown has resulted in the most serious clashes in the secessionist province since an October truce, despite the efforts of international monitors determined to prevent a return to full-scale war.

At least 10 ethnic Albanians have been reported killed in the offensive. The body of the latest victim, a 44-year-old man, was discovered Saturday night, the Kosovo Information Center said.

Teams of international monitors were sent to the area of yesterday's shooting in rebel-controlled territory between Obranca and Lapastica, some 30 kilometers north of Pristina.

One verifier near the scene of yesterday's clash characterized it as

"serious fighting." International monitors have talked to both sides in the fight over the ethnic Albanian-dominated province of Serbia, the main republic in Yugoslavia. Those efforts, and visits to the areas of conflict, appear to have helped prevent a complete breakdown of the shaky truce.

But Serb forces have refused to end their buildup in the rebel-held area. International officials, who still hold both sides responsible for the worsening violence, have strongly criticized the Serbs for responding with dozens of tanks to alleged provocations by the KLA.

Serb police said they would stay in Obranca, two kilometers from Lapastica, until at least after the

funeral of a 65-year-old Serb farmer killed by the KLA on Saturday.

The farmer, one of the last Serb civilians in the predominantly ethnic Albanian village, was shot after he and his family opened fire on the rebels, a KLA commander was quoted as saying in the ethnic Albanian daily *Koha Ditore*.

The top Serb official in Pristina said the farmer's death was "another crime committed by Albanian terrorists whose aim is to make Kosovo ethnically" all-Albanian.

The Kosovo Information Center claimed Serb police are passing out weapons to Serb civilians in the region.

In a separate incident yesterday, the Serb-run Media Center said a

62-year-old villager from Velika Reka was shot at with automatic weapons and fired back on the "terrorists." The rebels have acknowledged they are rearming and preparing for sustained fighting in order to gain freedom for Kosovo.

International diplomacy that produced an October peace agreement has failed to achieve an agreement on Kosovo's political status aimed at ending the conflict.

More than 1,000 people have been killed since Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic began an offensive against the rebels last February, driving some 300,000 were driven from their homes.

WORLD

in brief

Lowest violent US crime rate in 25 years

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — The violent crime rate in the US fell almost 7 percent in 1997 to the lowest level since the National Crime Victimization Survey was started 25 years ago, the Justice Department announced on Sunday. In 1997, the last year for which full statistics were compiled, there were an estimated 39 violent crimes per 1,000 US residents 12 or older.

That was lower than the 42 per 1,000 the year before and represented a 21% drop since 1993. The nation's murder rate alone fell by 8%, meaning the 18,210 murders last year were 28% lower than in 1993.

Most categories of crime were down in 1997, with property crime also reaching its lowest level since the survey's beginning. Robbery fell the most among 1997 violent crime, down 17%, while the statistics for rape and sexual assault did not change from the year before.

UNITA says crash fault of Angolan government

LUANDA (Reuters) — Angolan state radio yesterday accused UNITA rebels of shooting down a UN flight with 14 people aboard close to a government-held town that they had been shelling for weeks.

"A MONUA (United Nations Observer Mission in Angola) airplane was shot down yesterday by UNITA forces as it was taking off from Huambo for Saurimo," the Luanda-based state radio, monitored in Johannesburg, reported.

There was no independent confirmation of how the plane, which was carrying 10 UN monitors and four crew, was downed on Saturday, after taking off from the central highland town of Huambo on its way to Saurimo in Angola's northeast. The UN special representative in Angola, Issa Dialo, called on government and rebel forces to observe a 48-hour cease-fire around the site of the crash to allow a search-and-rescue operation for the missing plane.

Saudi Arabia denies plot to kill bin Laden

DUBAI (Reuters) — Saudi Arabia yesterday denied involvement in a failed plot to kill exiled dissident Osama bin Laden, accused by the US of masterminding attacks against two of its embassies in Africa in August. The official Saudi Press Agency quoted a Saudi source as saying that remarks attributed by a Pakistani daily to Bin Laden about the involvement of Saudi Arabia in the assassination attempt were "lies."

Bin Laden said in an interview published in the English-language *The News on Saturday* that Afghanistan's ruling Taliban militia foiled the assassination attempt and arrested three men involved. The men were being held in prison in the southern Afghan city of Kandahar, the Taliban headquarters, it added.

One of the plotters "was offered one million Saudi riyals and the nationality of Saudi Arabia to accomplish the mission," bin Laden was quoted as saying. He was interviewed on Wednesday night at a secret location near Kandahar, the paper said.

Arc de Triomphe shut down by strike

PARIS (Reuters) — The Arc de Triomphe, one of Paris's most popular tourist attractions, was off-limits to visitors yesterday as the monument's employees went on strike over staffing levels and pay.

Built on the orders of the Emperor Napoleon between 1806 and 1835 to honor the French army, the Arc draws about a million visitors a year and offers a panoramic view of the French capital.

The employees, who walked out on Saturday afternoon, have demanded negotiations with the Culture Ministry before they will consider returning to work.

They complain they must work too much overtime and are demanding bonuses and the hiring of additional staff.

A ministry spokesman said talks were expected to begin today between the Arc's approximately 50 employees and the Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques, the state agency that manages France's historic monuments.

Smallest octuplet dies

By MARK HARBRECK

HOUSTON (AP) — The smallest of the Chukwu octuplets died early yesterday from heart and lung failure, a week after she was born weighing just 292 gram.

Texas Children's Hospital announced that the baby, Chijindu Chidera, who was nicknamed Odera, was pronounced dead at 3:23 a.m. She and her seven siblings had been in intensive care since her birth December 20 as part of the world's first surviving set of octuplets. The first baby was born December 8.

Odera was the fifth child born to Nkem Chukwu, a native of Nigeria, and her husband, Iyke Louis Udobi.

The baby's condition began to deteriorate significantly Saturday, when doctors moved her from a conventional ventilator to an oscillator in an effort to improve her blood oxygenation.

But her oxygen levels remained poor and her heart began to fail.

In a statement released yesterday through the hospital, the parents said: "We are very saddened by the passing of our beloved baby Odera. She is now safe with God in heaven and we remain most grateful to Him for having blessed our lives with hers."

The other seven babies are in critical condition.



Jordanians against Iraq bombardment

Jordanian activists stage a pro-Iraq demonstration yesterday opposite the Royal Cultural Center in Amman, where the Arab Parliamentary Union held an emergency session on the Iraqi situation. The parliamentarians condemned the four-day US-led bombardment of Iraq, saying it jeopardized regional peace and worsened the hardship of Iraqis reeling under the impact of eight-year UN sanctions. "The aggression on Iraq represents a dangerous policy, which is against international law and shakes regional and international security," APU head Fathi Sorour, who is also speaker of Egypt's parliament, told the session. (AP)

Cult linked to Tokyo gas attack establishes UK base

By DOUGLAS DAVIS

LONDON — A cult whose members have been linked to the 1995 sarin gas subway attack in Japan and is said to be neo-Nazi and antisemitic has established a base in London.

Police say the Sukyo Mahikari cult is associated with Aum Shinrikyo, whose leaders are facing charges of mass murder for the deaths of 12 people in the Tokyo subway attack.

The Sukyo Mahikari, said by former members to propagate neo-Nazi and antisemitic propaganda, has successfully applied for charitable status in Britain.

The former members also told the

Sunday Times that the cult is preparing for a "baptism of fire" that could end the world next year.

A leaflet prepared by the cult states: "Under the present circumstances there is the terrible possibility that mankind might be annihilated by the baptism of fire." This, the former members point out, is the same language used by other cults, including Aum Shinrikyo and the Solar Temple, whose members committed mass suicide three years ago.

According to the paper, the message is interpreted as meaning that the cult is planning "some sort of action" as the millennium approaches.

An undercover reporter from the

paper, who spent a month at the cult's headquarters in south London, said cult leaders claim to have recruited more than 300 supporters throughout Britain, mostly middle-class professionals.

The cult also solicits for cash donations and, according to former members, followers have been known to hand over thousands of dollars, as well as gifts of property.

The European and African headquarters of the cult is based in Luxembourg and has reportedly received a grant of \$60,000, which was used to refurbish its offices.

A spokesman for Sukyo Mahikari denied the cult is linked to Aum Shinrikyo or that it is antisemitic.



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Drive Carefully

Insider's view of Clinton's 'personal agenda'

A new book by controversial Clinton consultant Dick Morris reveals how closely politics and policy became fused in the White House during the 1996 campaign. John F. Harris reports

Every Wednesday night, the group huddled in the Yellow Oval Room of the White House residence. The discussion grazed across an ever-changing buffet of subjects high and low: welfare and immigration, O.J. Simpson and Paula Jones.

But the real agenda was always centered on the man sitting at the center in a large stuffed chair: President Clinton and his plans for winning a second term.

The group of political consultants, senior White House staff, Vice President Al Gore and a handful of Cabinet members, was essentially the war council for the 1996 campaign. Two years later, a window has opened on that campaign and the techniques of its erratic chief strategist Dick Morris — thanks to a new book by Morris that reprints 18 months of the agendas he produced for the weekly strategy sessions.

The agendas reflect Morris's polling-based approach to politics and suggest the degree to which Clinton's policy initiatives on such subjects as crime, immigration and welfare were influenced by public opinion surveys. Political judgments about how best to position the president against the Republicans were also tailored to the polls.

The documents also reveal how Clinton's advisers weighed the political implications of even the most tragic events, and assessed ways in which he might gain side benefits from his presidential duties.

On April 27, 1995 — eight days after the Oklahoma City bombing — Morris directed a discussion of how to reap political advantage from the aftermath, according to the agenda for the date. As the consultant saw it, Clinton's handling of the tragedy would lead to "temporary gain: boost in ratings," and he could create "a permanent possible gain: sets up Extremist Issue vs. Republicans."

On Aug. 1, 1996, among topics at the weekly meeting was how well Clinton had responded to the mid-air explosion of TWA Flight 800. Polling data showed that 84 percent of Americans had heard about Clinton's meeting with families of the victims. Fifty percent said the

emotional meeting made them more likely to vote for Clinton over Robert J. Dole.

The agendas are printed as an appendix to a newly released edition of *Behind the Oval Office*, the campaign memoir that Morris published early last year. Two years after the election, the agendas — which were once so sensitive that Gore had to return his copy at the end of each session — are noteworthy now primarily as historical documents.

They also highlight an irony that echoes through Clinton's presidency to this day. At the very time that he was working so methodically to rebuild his presidency — polling on every event or issue that might conceivably affect his prospects — he was carrying on a relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky that would later help opponents tear him down.

Senior White House officials said Monday that they had not reviewed Morris's new book, but had no reason to suspect that the agendas he printed were not authentic. They cautioned, however, that the agendas that Morris presented at the weekly political meetings — before he left the campaign in August 1996 — often reflected his own interests and obsessions more than Clinton's.

Even Morris, who said he published the agendas because they were "historical documents," emphasized: "I'm the author of the agendas, not Clinton."

YET reading through the 200 pages of agendas — and comparing them to Clinton's schedule and statements in 1995 and 1996 — make clear that politics and policy became fused in Clinton's White House to a greater degree than had been demonstrated.

On April 24, 1996, polling data presented at the weekly meeting showed that an initiative to crack down on "deadbeat dads" who don't pay child support would make 80 percent of respondents more likely to vote for Clinton. Later that spring, he announced new regulations requiring states to take more aggressive steps to track down fathers.

On June 12, the consultants presented data showing that 87 percent



The reassuring 'father image': Clinton reads a Christmas classic to Washington area children in the White House last week. (AP)

of the electorate favored a constitutional amendment guaranteeing new rights to crime victims. Two weeks later, Clinton, surrounded by parents of slain children, overruled the recommendations of some constitutional experts in the Justice Department to endorse the amendment.

The next month Clinton also looked closely at polls in deciding to sign what he called a flawed bill to overhaul welfare. Morris warned him that a veto — as strongly urged by Health and Human Service Secretary Donna E. Shalala — "would be a disaster" that would cause him to lose 8 percentage points against Dole.

While the agendas Morris reprints may buttress those who

believe Clinton is a finger-in-the-wheel politician, Morris in an interview Monday said the perception is unfair.

Clinton may poll more than other presidents, he said, but he has proven himself willing to take actions that go against public opinion — such as approving a US-led financial rescue of Mexico or sending US troops to Bosnia. It is when he is taking unpopular steps, Morris said, that Clinton examines polls most minutely to figure out the best way to make a hard sale.

NUMEROUS White House aides groaned or sputtered expletives when informed about the new book by Morris. The consultant, who has worked with numerous

Republicans, was a despised figure among many Clinton aides even before he was fired for consorting with a prostitute.

But even some aides who disdain Morris acknowledge that, over the years, he has been far closer to Clinton than any other adviser. Especially in times of crisis — after a defeat in Arkansas, after the 1994 elections, and after the Lewinsky story broke in January — Clinton has turned to his old adviser.

The agendas reflect a continuing concern of the president — maintaining his popularity amid news of scandal. The team polled extensively on such controversies as the White House's improper possession of FBI files, which was hurting his numbers for a time in June 1996, and whether Clinton was being hurt by the Paula Jones sexual harassment case. In the end, though, the numbers always

showed that people's support of Clinton's policies overcame mistrust of him personally.

But the agendas also hint at a controversy to come: Morris urged extensive Democratic National Committee issue advertising. "Use DNC to pay for it; we control production," the consultant wrote on the agenda for June 26, 1995.

The agendas show how much Clinton and his team worried about news events that would seem, at first glance, unrelated to presidential politics.

On Oct. 3, 1995, in the wake of the O.J. Simpson verdict, Clinton's polling team of Mark Penn and Doug Schoen surveyed the public about how whites and blacks would react. Morris said Clinton was concerned about a possible "right-wing backlash" of an acquittal.

On May 9, 1996, Clinton's political team discussed how to use that

year's Summer Olympics in Atlanta to the president's advantage — amplifying his message about "responsibility and self-improvement." For the 1996 Democratic convention, the Clinton team polled on such possible speakers as Walter Cronkite, Garth Brooks and John F. Kennedy Jr. before deciding on Christopher Reeve.

The agendas also reflect the Clinton team's belief in sending messages about cultural values. On Oct. 11, 1995, the agenda for the weekly meeting was about how Clinton could recast his style to present more of a reassuring "father image" — in part to draw more female votes.

"Women crave men who act responsibly," Morris wrote. "Romance novel themes are now of woman done wrong and rescued by Mr. Right." (The Washington Post)

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Kicking out the Kurds

Eager to uproot non-Arabs from the oil-rich areas he controls, Saddam Hussein is forcibly ridding himself of them, writes **Amberin Zaman**

Saddam Hussein's regime has expelled hundreds of ethnic Kurds and other non-Arab minorities to Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq in recent months despite repeated warnings from the UN, officials say.

Tens of thousands were forced to leave after the end of the Gulf War in 1991, but the expulsions then slowed. The daily deportation from oil-rich areas under Hussein's control has increased again in the past six months.

In this sprawling, mainly Kurdish-populated city in northeast Iraq, new victims of Hussein's policy are camping in a derelict hotel where there is no heating, no running water, no electricity, no toilets and little protection from the harsh winter.

Jamal Amin Ali, a 26-year-old farmer from the oil-rich Kirkuk region just to the west, shook with anger as he described how he was forced to abandon his home, his land and all his belongings late last month.

"Saddam's police burst into our home with their guns and pointed them to my baby girl's head," he said. "They wanted to know where I was."

"When my wife said she didn't know, they took her and the baby to prison, and told her they would not be given any food till I showed up and we all left Kirkuk for good. "If we didn't, we would all be killed instantly," they said."

Fellow deportees from about 120 families sheltering at the rattle-infested hotel, where narrow cardboard strips serve as beds and plastic sheeting as roofs, tell similar stories. They say they have barely enough food to survive, no money, no work and no hope for the future.

Most had their ration coupons

for UN aid confiscated by Iraqi police before they were kicked out.

"If we don't find a warm place to stay, my baby is going to die soon," said a gaunt Kurdish woman holding up a thin little boy with sunken cheeks, huge dark eyes and a hacking cough.

IRAQI Kurdish officials express doubts that last week's airstrikes by the US and Britain will affect the deportations.

They say the expulsions are intended to remove non-Arabs from the provinces of Mosul and Kirkuk, where most of Iraq's vast oil wealth lies.

According to the Kurdish officials, around 200,000 ethnic Kurds have been forcibly evicted from areas still under Iraqi government control since the Kurds' failed uprising against Baghdad at the end of the 1991 war.

Two rival Kurdish groups have controlled northern Iraq ever since April 1991, when the US and its allies declared a "no-fly zone" over Iraqi territory north of the 36th parallel. The Kurdish "safe haven" is protected by US, British and Turkish warplanes stationed at a NATO airbase in southern Turkey.

Jalal Talabani, the leader of the Kurdish factions that control Sulaymaniyah, accused the Iraqi leader in a recent interview of "systematically deporting and murdering Kurds in Iraq." He said he raised the issue with US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright earlier this year.

The Kurdish leader was referring to his trip to Washington in September, when he signed a peace agreement with his arch-rival, Massoud Barzani, ending four years of factional fighting.

The deal, viewed as crucial to US efforts to revive Iraqi opposition to Saddam's regime, was signed in Albright's presence.

SO far, Saddam has ignored repeated UN warnings to stop the deportations, which also target Assyrian Christian Arabs and ethnic Turks known as Turcomens.

Mustafa Ziya, the president of a coalition of Turcomen parties in Iraq, said around 5,000 deported Turcomens were currently living in what he described as "subhuman conditions in northern Iraq." He said at least 20,000 others had made their way illegally to Europe over the past seven years to flee persecution by the Baghdad regime.

In a speech to the UN General Assembly last month, Max van der Stoep, the UN official responsible for monitoring the human rights situation in Iraq, said that "well over 150,000 persons of Kurdish origin have been evicted from the oil-rich region of Kirkuk... this is the continuation of a long-running policy to change the ethnic composition of the oil-rich region and thereby secure its wealth for the regime."

"Eviction of families from Kirkuk is a daily phenomenon at the present time," he said.

Sadi Pira, the Kurdish minister for humanitarian affairs in the region that Talabani controls, said 172 expelled families had arrived in Sulaymaniyah alone in the past six months.

Iraqi Kurdish officials complain that the UN has done little to help out with the deportees.

"We have to rely mainly on our own resources to help these people," Pira said. "And that's not saying very much at all."

(Los Angeles Times)

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سكزا من الاربعين

Macho toys send up the horror movie

Movie Review

By Adina Hoffman

SMALL SOLDIERS

★★★★

Directed by Joe Dante. Screenplay by Gavin Polio, Adam Rifkin, Ted Elliott and Terry Rossio. Hebrew title: *Shogun Krimin*. English dialogue. Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance very strongly advised. With Kirsten Dunst, Gregory Smith, Jay Mohr, Phil Hartman and the voices of Tommy Lee Jones, Frank Langella, Ernest Borgnine, Christopher Guest.

It's the season for top-ten lists, and while my own Best Movies of 1998 roster was already booked solid as of about mid-December, the high quality of the movies I've seen this last week has mucked things up considerably, and led me to expand my account of the year's most interesting, thoughtful or pleasurable pictures to a most unscientific dozen-plus.

Now, in addition to *Life Is Beautiful*, *Boogie Nights*, *The Apple*, *Mulan*, *The Sweet Hereafter*, *Jackie Brown*, *Day After Day*, *Wag the Dog*, *Hana-Bi*, *Washington Square* and the first 20 minutes of *Saving Private Ryan* (with honorable-mention nods going to *Love and Death on Long Island* and *Welcome to Sarajevo*), I'd add John Frankenheimer's taut action thriller *Ronin* and *Small Soldiers*. Joe Dante's gleefully macabre and terrifically innovative send-up of, among other things, corporate greed, the military-industrial complex, and contemporary America's warped toy-buying culture.

Although it was released some time ago in the United States, *Small Soldiers* is a horror-movie spoof seems in many ways the ultimate, subversive holiday-shopping season movie, an anti-Furby blow-out par excellence. The film's madcap

premise revolves around the decision by a huge conglomerate called Globotech to produce a line of action figures that are powered by a highly sophisticated micro-processor chip — a chip originally developed by the company for use in munitions.

Programmed to kill, the muscular squadron of Commando Elite toys set off on a campaign of brutal destruction, bursting almost instantly from their boxes and literally blasting away anything in their path. Their stated goal is to wipe out the Gorgons, another line of Globotech toys who are also fueled by fancy chips but who are much milder, and geekier, in their demeanor. Like all Dante's films, the movie takes satirical shape as an energetic showdown of Us vs. Them sorts, and introduces us to Allan (Gregory Smith), a slightly awkward, sensitive teenager, and his confident neighbor, Christy (Kirsten Dunst), who join forces with the Gorgon misfits (whose goofy voices belong to Frank Langella, Christopher Guest, Michael McKean and Harry Shearer, the latter three of *This Is Spinal Tap* fame) in their battle against the violent, extra-macho Commando Elite.

(Their tough talk comes from Tommy Lee Jones, Bruce Dern and, in an inspired twist, a quartet of *Dirty Dozen* veterans, Ernest Borgnine, Jim Brown, George Kennedy and Clint Walker).

The movie works first of all as a darkly comic entertainment, and one that's all the livelier for the vital, integrated use that Dante and his experienced team of animators, led by the prize-winning designer Stan Winston, make of the puppets. These dolls move in a believably stiff way — for once the plasticky appearance of the computer imagery fits the story — and there's always something startling and new going on in the corner of the frame, especially once the sweetly mutant Gorgons (direct descendants of Dante's playful Gremlins, as well as a host of other screen monsters) enter the picture. One has a single, *It Came from Outer Space*-style globe of an eye for a head, another is a sort of gentle, damaged Frankenstein, yet another quips at a manic rate and spins frantically, always



The Globotech executives of 'Small Soldiers' plan their marketing campaign.

changing form...

Later, the going gets much more ghoulish, as Christy's Barbie-esque Gwendy dolls are summoned as replacements and become twisted — and genuinely disturbing — mutations of the airhead girl-doll stereotype, uttering in a weird, incessant way (in voices that belong to Christina Ricci and Sarah Michelle Gellar) about the prom, boys, their nails, hair, and diets, even as they launch a vicious physical attack

against poor Christy. "Now WE get to play with YOU!", they cackle, climbing over her like speed-freak Lilliputians.

All of this is very funny, though at a deeper level, of course, Dante is also working out a fairly scathing critique of the way extreme brutality has been packaged by wily capitalists to seem an acceptable — indeed, almost an essential — aspect of modern childhood. When the snake-like owner

of Globotech, Gil Mars (Denis Leary), is scheming how best to market the deadly new product to the vulnerable, underage masses, he suggests: "Don't call it violence, call it action!" Meanwhile, the notion that these tiny robotic killers and the children who buy them are "just playing" comes to seem increasingly grotesque.

I loved *Small Soldiers* (ITALL-ICS) but must point out a fairly pressing problem — less with the

movie than with, ironically enough, its packaging.

Despite the fact that its stars are kids and action figures, this is not really a film for children. The film fared poorly in the United States, both financially and critically, and I'd warrant that miscategorization was the reason: those expecting the clean-cut fun of a *Toy Story* were understandably put off. Which is not to say that younger people won't like Dante's film.

There's so much frenzied motion and, well, high-spirited violence at play, I have no doubt that they'll be tickled. Superficially at least, the movie looks a lot like the very kiddie flicks and games that the director is lampooning.

But parents, at least, should stand warned: this is a parody whose ironic point could easily backfire. It might be better to leave the kids with a babysitter and go see *Small Soldiers* yourselves.

Max Stern's music debuts with the IPO

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Max Stern will be part of the main event at the Mann Auditorium next Sunday. He has been writing music reviews for this paper for more than a decade. But, on that evening, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra will perform his work *Arise, Shine*, marking Stern's debut as a composer with Israel's leading orchestra.

Contemporary music in general and Israeli contemporary music in particular are not the IPO's regular fare. But the orchestra does present the occasional Israeli work, perhaps to discharge some perceived obligation to society.

Even so, Stern is not the composer one would usually associate with the IPO and the 51-year-old American-born composer, who makes his home in Beer Sheva, owns himself surprised when the IPO was made. "A while ago I presented a trio of mine with members of the IPO at the Upper Hall in Beit Lessin, and the musicians enjoyed my piece very much," he recalls. "After a while, I suddenly get a call from Arthur Post [the IPO's associate conductor]. He told me they wanted to play a work of mine."

After several discussions with Post, who will conduct the concert, the decision was made to perform the final movement from Stern's 1975 *Symphonie*. But as it would be presented independently, Stern changed its title from the original *Ascend to Arise, Shine*.

"I changed the movement a little bit and renamed it and it makes perfect sense independently as well. It still has the original idea of moving from darkness to light."

"It is like a prophecy which comes from nowhere and ends in nowhere. It comes out of a dark and gloomy introduction and goes through antagonistic themes before it breaks into light."

Stern, married to the Israeli-born Zilla, with whom he has three children, lectures about music and is involved with a lot of religious activities. Yet his childhood was as remote from music and Judaism as one can imagine.

Born and raised in Valley Stream, New York, Stern recalls no music around his house at all. "There wasn't even a record player around."

"But when I went to junior high my teacher needed someone to play the tuba in the orchestra and

my parents did not encourage me at all and would not buy me an instrument to play on, so I could afford to play only on instruments that the school would give me." After the tuba, he moved to the double bass.

Stern began composing early on.

"I wrote for my instrument and for the people around me and we used to play that music," he says. Stern continued playing the bass at high school.

"I played everything from musical theater to big band and jazz bands and everything you could think of. At this time I also started playing in the New York Youth Orchestra."

And that led to his studies at the Eastman School of Music.

"I had no background in composition but I always wrote things. I was happy they accepted me to study composition but it was very difficult for me at the beginning. Suddenly I discovered modern music from the second Viennese school through Stravinsky and Bartok. It was a big struggle for me to find my own personal idiom within this wealth of music I suddenly discovered."

After graduating from Eastman, Stern started his advanced composition studies in Yale but "it was very intellectual there which I didn't care for a lot."

It was the time of the Vietnam War, and Stern was "searching for a different mentality." He found it in Hungary, of all places, where he joined a few musicians who were teaching the Kodaly system.

"I studied solfège and pedagogy and methodology and it was all very interesting, but after a while I left it, as I got too



Composer Max Stern

involved and I felt that the system was too rigid and that I was losing my compositional [skills]."

DURING those years Stern made a five-week tour of Israel.

"I probably saw more of the country back then than ever since," he says.

When he was invited in 1976 to join the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra as a bass player, he accepted — even though he had refused a similar offer the previous year.

Once here, Stern began studying Judaism; much of his free time between his concerts in Jerusalem were spent at various yeshivot.

"I wanted to study what is a Jew and what is Jewish music," he says. Although he has become observant, "I do not even know if I am religious," he says.

"I discovered that religion and Judaism were totally different for me and people like me who came from abroad than for Israelis. I found that religion was some-

thing cold and totalitarian here and that was quite a shock for me."

But he composed numerous works based on Jewish themes, like *Balaam and the Ass*, *Bereshit*, *Hanna's Song of Praise*, *Ha'azinu*, *Jacob Struggling with the Angel* and many others, works that clearly bear his very specific musical imprint ranging from avant-garde music to music that derives from very obvious Jewish sources.

Many of his works have won prizes and Stern has presented them at conferences and seminars all over the world. His basic goal, he says, is to "synthesize the aesthetics of Judaism in classical music."

Arthur Post leads the IPO in Max Stern's *Arise, Shine* as well as music by *Sibelius and Mendelssohn*, next Sunday and Monday at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv at 8:30 p.m.

Czech these singers out

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

In 1987, David Eben, son of renowned Czech composer Peter Eben, founded the Schola Gregoriana Pragensis, a 10-member vocal ensemble specializing in Czech Gregorian music.

In its early days, the group played only at religious services but in 1989 it expanded its musical scope.

Pragensis began to participate in musical seminars and started recording its rather extensive and unknown repertoire for radio and television alike. The next stage of the ensemble's development was recording on commercial CDs and singing concerts in its homeland and all over the world.

The music performed by this first-rate ensemble, whose singing is pure and evocative, is above all Bohemian plainchant from the Middle Ages as well as Gregorian chant from the ninth to the 11th centuries and occasionally newly discovered works composed between the 13th and

15th centuries.

When one listens to the discs of this very finely tuned ensemble, one is never sure whether these are 10 first-rate musicians focusing on the exceptional delivery of a contemplative and, at times, mesmerizing repertoire or a group of monks praying in their monastery with total and sincere devotion.

A critic for *Le Monde* put it most aptly, saying that their interpretation "pays heed to the delicate balance between the internality of the monastic chants and their musically erudite concert presentation," and complements their "handling of the melodic line which is conducted with great ease and freedom."

IN an era in which early-music ensembles flood the market, many competing for the same audience and performing identical repertoires, the Schola Gregoriana Pragensis is a rather unusual ensemble because its rich and beguiling repertoire is not per-

formed by anyone else and because its performance floats magically between the mind and the soul.

The ensemble makes its local debut this week, with a special New Year's Eve concert at the Maronite Church in Jaffa (Thursday at 8:30 p.m.). On January 1, it performs at the Musica Sacra Festival in Nazareth (2:30 p.m.), on January 2 it appears in Ein Hashofet (10:30 a.m.) and Karmiel (8:30 p.m.). On January 5, it appears at the House of Grace Church in Haifa (8:30 p.m.) and the tour ends on January 9 at the Augusta Victoria Church on Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem (11:30 a.m.).

Music lovers should not miss the opportunity to savor the performances and make sure to purchase some of their CDs after the concert. This is really a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to delve deep into the rich tapestry of Bohemian early ecclesiastical music and reveal musical terrains never before encountered.

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TUESDAYS <td>7:30 p.m.</td> <td></td>	7:30 p.m.	
MONDAYS <td>5:00 p.m.</td> <td></td>	5:00 p.m.	
WEDNESDAYS <td>5:30 p.m.</td> <td></td>	5:30 p.m.	
SUNDAYS <td>5:00 p.m.</td> <td></td>	5:00 p.m.	
WEDNESDAYS <td>4:30 p.m.</td> <td></td>	4:30 p.m.	
THURSDAYS <td>8:00 p.m.</td> <td></td>	8:00 p.m.	
MONDAYS <td>4:30 p.m., 7:30 p.m.</td> <td></td>	4:30 p.m., 7:30 p.m.	
SUNDAYS <td>5:00 p.m.</td> <td></td>	5:00 p.m.	
TUESDAYS <td>8:30 a.m. & 8:30 p.m.</td> <td></td>	8:30 a.m. & 8:30 p.m.	
WEDNESDAYS <td>8:30 a.m. & 8:30 p.m.</td> <td></td>	8:30 a.m. & 8:30 p.m.	
MONDAYS <td>3:30 p.m. & 8:30 p.m.</td> <td></td>	3:30 p.m. & 8:30 p.m.	
MONDAYS <td>3:00 p.m.</td> <td></td>	3:00 p.m.	

SOUTHERN AREAS

MATZEV - NETANYA AREA
BAT YAM / HOLON AREA

HAIFA - TOWN AREA

GALILEE (Tiberias to K. Shimon)

IDAN - CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AREA

ARUTZET ZAHAV - DAN / SHARON / SOUTH JERUSALEM AND ELAT

GVATIM - CENTRAL AREA (Mod'in etc.)
KRAYOT AREA

Kurds

in Zaman

THE JERUSALEM POST

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Out of tune

The lame-duck 14th Knesset has apparently been struck by a case of nostalgia for the bad old days of Bolshevik-like government dictation of cultural expressions and control of the airwaves. Otherwise, there is no rational explanation for the Knesset's passage last Tuesday of a law requiring radio stations to maintain a strict quota of 50 percent Hebrew-language songs in their broadcasting fare. This is a law that is at one and the same time anti-democratic, heavy-handed, and clumsy, crying out for public disapproval.

Indeed, if it were not for the fact that the Knesset last week also voted on a slightly more spectacular bill dissolving itself, the so-called "Hebrew Song Law" would undoubtedly have by now attracted more attention and protest than it has. The main impulse which prompted the framers of the new law was clearly expressed by sponsor MK Yona Yahav (Labor), who stated that the law's purpose is "to preserve original Israeli culture and protect it from the trend of Americanization." Yahav and the other MKs who voted with him fear that without the protection of fortified walls in the form of laws such as the Song Law, the Hebrew language and culture will be doomed to disintegrate in the face of an unceasing onslaught by the language in which this newspaper is written.

This is an anxiety that is not limited to Israel. The extent to which cultural and popular expressions - in everything ranging from philosophical musings to the slang used in low-budget films - throughout the world are dominated by the Anglo-American culture is so commonplace that most of us no longer even step back to note how astoundingly pervasive it is. Concerned nationalists from France and Germany to Latin American and African dictatorships have for a long time now tried just about every possible method to fight "the Anglo-American cultural imperialism" - and with very limited success. Even the business and academic communities in France, perhaps the nation which most consciously and conspicuously manned the barricades against the English cultural onslaught, have in recent years given up and accepted the fact that they need to speak English to get around in the world today.

There is something sad in a world whose multi-faceted cultural and lingual mosaic gives way to a bland homogenization. As writers such as Jared Diamond have pointed out, individual languages - and their cultures - are disappearing throughout the globe at such a rapid rate that they warrant being placed on the "endangered species" lists alongside whales and bald eagles. A world in which one will eventually be unable to tell Kuala Lumpur from Chicago would be a poor one indeed.

Hebrew, the tongue which gave the world so much, including the best-selling book of all time - the Bible - and the very concept of a phonetic alphabet, is surely worthy of being preserved for generations to come, to love and treasure the rich culture to which we are heirs. To come to the defense of Hebrew, however, by passing laws forcing people to listen or speak the language, is to do the wrong thing for quite a number of reasons.

For one thing, Hebrew has proven itself far more resilient than the Hebrew Song Law gives it credit for, as Hebrew speakers watched empires come and go over literally millennia. The idea of a single, universally common language was not invented by English speakers in this century. At various times and places that role was played by Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and Arabic, to name just a few. The Hebrew culture managed to absorb the best of those cultures had to offer, while fiercely maintaining its independence and unique character. A language that even 2,000 years of exile did not manage to kill off is unlikely to be done in by a few pop songs on local radio stations.

If anything, Hebrew in recent times has been so vibrant and strong that it is the envy of others who come to Israel to learn the secret of its success. Words which in other nations have been imported directly from foreign sources - such as, say, "passport," "taxi," or "computer software" - are in Israel embraced by the general populace in their Hebrew equivalents with incredible ease. Hebrew e-mail programs have been eagerly adopted by the software marketplace. Hebrew has even been accused by some of being "imperialistic" in its own small sphere of influence - just witness the number of Palestinians who are completely fluent in it, or consider the Hebrew courses merchants and hoteliers voluntarily sign-up for in Turkey.

Finally, passing a law which increases government interference in establishing the content of broadcasts runs counter to all of the positive liberalization trends of recent years, and such a law has no place in a modern democracy. Nor is it likely to be productive in the long run - people have a well known tendency to resist what they are ordered to do from above. There are numerous creative and positive steps that can be taken to promote the Hebrew culture, such as supporting local artistic expressions, be it in film or composition, or ensuring a that a strong and free local telecommunications infrastructure exists to make it easier for those producing Hebrew cultural expressions to get their messages heard. But attempting to force the use of the language by legislation is to take a counterproductive step backwards using methods that should long ago have disappeared from the world.

OPINION

In need of repair

YOSEF GOELL

Last Monday's Knesset vote for the abolition of the political system into a chaotic maelstrom, was accompanied by two other political moves: the passage on first reading of the Beitlin-Landau bill for the abolition of the direct election of the prime minister, and the collusion between Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Shas leader Aryeh Deri in a failed last-minute attempt to call for a government of national unity as an alternative to early elections.

It is far from certain that the bill for the abolition of direct elections will survive its second and third readings. Its adoption by a narrow majority reflects the disappointment in the two major parties with the results of the direct elections law, which was adopted - also by a narrow majority - in 1992, but only implemented in the 1996 elections. A good part of that disappointment

could only appeal to people who have erased their memories of the corruption and breakdown of that earlier system in its final throes.

The main thing missing in the implementation of the direct election system was the adoption of a second-stage reform of the manner in which the Knesset is elected, and the forging of a new constitutional relationship between the directly elected prime minister and executive branch and the Knesset.

It is clear that no progress can be made in this direction during the heat of an election campaign, but one major corrective can be adopted in the remaining months before the elections. Arresting the further fragmentation of the Knesset into a plethora of splinter parties can be brought about primarily by a raising of the threshold for entry into the Knesset from the present 1.5 percent to something like 5%. In fact, such a step would be much more effective

Raising the threshold for entry into the Knesset would be much more effective than rescinding the direct election of the prime minister

ment stems from the unfortunate character of Netanyahu, the first prime minister elected under the new system, who while woefully misreading the country in both domestic and foreign affairs has also succeeded in gutting his own Likud and in undermining the workings of a good part of the political system.

The other source of that disappointment is the fragmentation of the party system as a result of the new law's encouragement of splitticket voting for small and minuscule parties at the expense of the major ruling parties, alongside the vote for a prime minister. It is well to remember, however, that most of the Likud and Labor MKs who voted to rescind the direct elections law - the compromise called for its implementation only in the elections of 2003 - had opposed direct elections in 1992 and ever since. Their solution of returning to our previous sys-

tem than the rescinding of the direct elections of the prime minister.

A 5% THRESHOLD would reduce the number of parties in the Knesset to a maximum of six or seven. It would wipe out Agudat Yisrael, The Third Way, Tsomet, David Levy's Geshet, Moledet, and the separate Arab parties, and would scotch attempts to set up additional of Russian immigrant parties. It would not disenfranchise voters from these sectors, but it would force the politicians who have established these sectoral lists to enter into larger coalitions or cease to exist.

Talk of "national unity" is apparently an Israeli mantra that is the equivalent of the American "motherhood" and "apple-pie" - the "family values" which has apparently been irrevocably sullied by the number of outed Republican adulterers who were wont to wrap

Dry Bones



themselves in its folds. The very idea, however, is basically inimical to the workings of the democratic parliamentary system.

It is essential at any time that it be as clear as possible who is running the country and in what direction, and who is challenging the democratically elected rulers, seeking to replace them in the future. Being out of power is understandably frustrating, but the opposition plays an essential role in a democracy such as ours. It should not be vitiated by a false, wall-to-wall national unity.

What is needed is a much broader political support than mere one- or two-vote happenstance majorities - often bought by corrupt concessions - for major policies, such as the diplomatic process with the Palestinians, the future of the Golan Heights in negotiations with the Syrians, the basic guidelines for a secular-religious modus vivendi to replace the defunct status quo, and

others. This can be achieved by the equivalent of the safety net which Labor offered Netanyahu in support of the Wye agreements and their implementation. It did not require the wholesale cooption of Labor into Netanyahu's Right-Religious coalition.

What we need to make our system work are accomplished and credible prime ministers and party leaders who are good at forging shifting ad hoc parliamentary majorities in support of different policies. But what is needed above all are prime ministers who are sufficiently honest to make such working relationships possible.

We were unfortunate in being dealt a self-destructive, media-whiz, trickster for our first directly elected prime minister. Which is no reason to throw out the system together with its destroyer. The desirable direction should be to throw out Bibi, the Big Disappointment, and to go on to repair the system.

A united Jerusalem?

BERNARD WASSERSTEIN

Although the Jewish Agency established its headquarters in Jerusalem in the mandatory period, few Zionist leaders lived here.

The idea that Jerusalem was politically sacrosanct and exempt from partition was not official Zionist doctrine before 1948 - or even after. Significantly, one of the earliest instances on which the concept of partition appeared in Zionist thinking was in relation to the city. In 1932, the head of the Jewish Agency

even seriously discussed making Jerusalem the capital until late 1949. None of the main organs of government, except for the Supreme Court, moved here until later.

When the government finally got round to considering the issue, it did so in a strangely reactive way and with little forethought.

On December 9, 1949 the United Nations General Assembly reaffirmed the plan for an internationalized city. Two days later, the cabinet,

The city remains as divided as ever - and all its inhabitants know it

Political Department, Haim Arlosoroff, proposed the division of Jerusalem into two boroughs, one Arab, the other Jewish, each with its own council.

In successive partition plans for the country as a whole from 1936 to 1947, the Zionist Organization accepted, even if it proposed, maps that would have excluded Jerusalem from the Jewish state.

PRIOR to independence, the Zionists were by no means clear that Jerusalem must be their capital. Among various suggested alternative locations were Ben-Gurion's proposal of a Negev settlement and Golda Meir's of Mount Carmel.

Ze'ev Shafar, first cabinet secretary, recorded that the cabinet did not

on Ben-Gurion's initiative, responded by proclaiming Jerusalem Israel's capital. When foreign minister Moshe Shartut, who was in New York, heard about it, he was so horrified that he threatened to resign. Remarkably, the head of state, Chaim Weizmann, would not move his official residence to the new capital, preferring to remain in Rehovot.

In early 1950, in secret negotiations with King Abdullah, the Israeli government demonstrated the limits of its devotion to its capital by offering an exchange deal that involved ceding to Jordan parts of western Jerusalem, including Talbiyah, the Greek colony and Baka. Until 1967, Jordan and Israel remained united against the rest of the world in their readiness to partition Jerusalem.

Since 1967 Israel has purported to "reunify" Jerusalem and has sought to increase the Jewish proportion of the population. Under Teddy Koller's mayoralty, these policies could claim some limited success.

But in recent years, by any objective measure, they have failed miserably. The city remains as divided as ever - all its inhabitants know the invisible walls that separate its districts and communities. The Jewish proportion of the population has decreased since 1967 - and, as immigration declines, looks set to enter a downward spiral.

In spite of three readjustments of the municipal boundary, all carefully designed to exclude Arab-inhabited areas adjacent to the city, nearly one-third of the population today is Muslim or Christian. In the metropolitan region of Jerusalem, nearly half the population is Arab. This considerable population group has not been integrated into Israel politically, socially or psychologically. It continues to see its destiny as bound up with that of the Palestinian nation.

Against this background it is reasonable to exclude the logic of partitionism from Zion itself? Is a policy of imposed dominance by one half of the population over the other a recipe for peace in the next decade? Should we continue to recite the unification mantra forever? Or is it more sensible, as in the famous Beitlin-Abu Mazen "understanding," to work towards a solution that seeks to reconcile the legitimate aspirations for sovereignty of both its major population groups?

Freedom: It's good for you

STEPHEN S. ROSENFELD

Not to trivialize freedom, but it's kind of like aspirin: good for a broad and constantly expanding range of conditions.

You'd expect that freedom would be good for political rights and civil liberties, for instance. No surprises there. Countries with some of it tend to get more of it: to move from simple electoral democracy to a richer liberal or free democracy with civil liberties, the rule of law, checks and balances, minority rights, a civil society and the rest.

But Freedom House, a 50-year-old nonpartisan organization that produces a respected annual survey of how freedom fares around the world, now reports that this form of political aspirin serves other high purposes as well. Take ethnicity and nationalism, widely identified as the twin curses of the democratic promise that emerged from the Cold War.

Freedom House, in an upbeat report written by its president, Adrian Karatnycky, suggests that monoethnic countries - defined as places where two-thirds of the population belong to a single ethnic group - are twice as likely to be open and democratic as multiethnic ones.

Of the 88 countries the group labels as "free," fully 66 are monoethnic. Among the 117 counted electoral democracies, 78 are

monoethnic and 39 multiethnic.

Such numbers have led students of the recent ethnic conflicts in Africa and the Balkans to focus on the destructive power of contemporary ethnic and nationalist passions.

Yet, says Freedom House, while countries are more likely to be free if they do not face significant ethnic cleavages, there is also "compelling evidence" that multiethnic societies can preserve a broad array of political and civil freedoms.

These societies include old democracies such as Canada, Belgium and Switzerland and new ones such as Estonia, Latvia, Mali, Namibia and South Africa. Giant India's return in 1998 to a Freedom House listing of "free" suggests to it that even in an ethnically charged setting, multiethnic societies can establish a climate of respect for personal freedoms, the rule of law and the rights of religious and ethnic minorities.

IT is painfully clear that in some political settings ethnic appeals can undo democratic systems. Yet the overall example of those 39 existing multiethnic electoral democracies indicates that it is

possible - not ensured but possible - to transcend ethnic appeals, to avert the disenfranchisement of ethnic minorities and to establish durable democracies.

Freedom House reminds us that in the 1980s and '90s, most successful ethnic struggles for national self-determination and even for nationhood have been peaceful, involving mass protests and other accepted forms of opposition activity. In the former Soviet bloc, such activism contributed to the downfall of oppressive regimes and the creation of free states.

But where nationalism has led to violence and bloody warfare, another factor has often been present: irredentism. In such cases (Bosnia's Serb Republic, Nagorno-Karabakh, Transnistria, Kosovo, Congo), "what is at work may be support provided by an existing state seeking to extend its borders [or influence] rather than the aspiration to create a new nation-state."

A country being invaded or subverted from outside is in a different - usually more dangerous - situation from one facing an internal challenge from a group of its own citizens.

Granted, the value of freedom or the challenge to freedom is not always determined by counting up examples of this and that category of experience. In real life, the success of ideas is measured not just statistically but intellectually and politically on a broad canvas. Yugoslavia's and Congo's agonies are not the less for unfolding in only two countries otherwise of lesser importance to the run of nations.

Still, it is important for purposes of truth, morale and public policy to recognize that ethnicity is not always the harsh and invincible enemy of democracy.

In a given ethnic conflict, freedom may falter. But democracy may also provide the combination of strength and flexibility that enables a state under ethnic siege to bend, adapt and endure.

From its conviction of the demonstrated superiority of the idea of freedom, Freedom House concludes that the best way to tackle "the successful management of divisive group conflicts" is to strengthen democracy.

Freedom would be a good idea, even if it were not useful in this context. Countries so involved would do well to take two aspirin and call Freedom House in the morning.

(The Washington Post)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

COURAGEOUS STAND

Sir, - Perhaps I've been remiss. When I read Jonathan Rosenblum's touching column "Confessions of a Haredi Dad" (December 11), I knew there would be some angry letters in response, but it never occurred to me that no letters would appear in support of what he wrote. Otherwise, I would have written before now.

Ashter Caillatgold writes that "we do not buy your argument that this country needs thousands of young men to 'protect' it by studying Torah full-time." Who is "we," Mr. Caillatgold?

I am a Jew. Not a haredi Jew, but an Orthodox Jew who recognizes that the Torah is the raison d'être of the Jewish people, and has been for all our history. I value those who learn full-time, and I believe that they are a vital part of our defense.

Caillatgold accuses Rosenblum of whining when he speaks of the problems faced by Torah Jews who serve in the IDF. But the IDF, like the State of Israel itself, is built on Western values; not Jewish ones. Throughout our history, we have done what was necessary to protect our children from being indoctrinated by foreign cultures.

Would Caillatgold speak as harshly of the many Jews who did what they could - up and including outright fraud - to keep their children out of the Russian

army? Tragically, there is a vast gulf between Jewish culture and Israeli culture, and I am happy to see that there are Jews who place their Jewish identity first.

Have there been abuses of yeshiva exemptions? Are there those who have taken those exemptions and gone to work, rather than to learn? Quite possibly. But generalizing to an entire population is unjustified, and not far from demagoguery.

Kudos to Rosenblum for taking the stand he has.

LISA LIEL

Eilat.

WHY THE FUSS?

Sir, - What was all the fuss about concerning the taboo to desecrate the Ramadan period during Desert Fox?

After all, the Arab governments of Egypt and Syria intentionally and deliberately started the 1973 war on Yom Kippur, trying to exploit in a calculated manner the fact that on this holiest of holidays, Israel would be an easy prey for the onslaught of their armies.

Where was the international outcry then at this outrageous initiative and procedure?

LILLI SCHAEFER

Holon.

GENERAL POLITICS

Sir, - I thought a general or a civil servant had to undergo a period of about 100 days between leaving the army or the civil service and entering politics.

Not so many years ago, a retired general who had then moved on to head the police had to leave the force in disgrace because he was approached by a politician to stand, on his retirement from the police, for a mayoral position.

The same principle does not seem to apply to former chief of staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak who, according to media reports, has met with politicians over the last few weeks yet only became a civilian at the end of last week! Could this be because his political views are known and are, above all, to the liking of the media?

Maybe we should have a law that generals need to be civilians for at least one year before entering politics and that they have to serve one full term as a Knesset member before being eligible to be elected prime minister.

That would ensure that the generals would devote their full attention to the army and its needs rather than use their position as a political spring board. This perhaps would also reduce the number of "mistakes" and "errors" for which non-commissioned or junior officers are punished while the big boys go free.

EMANUEL FISCHER

Jerusalem.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On December 28, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported on the festive opening of the light industrial zone of Emek Zevulun in the Bay of Haifa. Contracts had been signed by 40 industrialists planning to open their factories there.

50 years ago: On December 28, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that the IDF was continuing to clear the Negev, forcing the remaining Egyptian forces to retreat behind the international border. The first new Israeli identity cards were issued in Jerusalem.

25 years ago: On December 28, 1973, *The Jerusalem Post* reported on the continuous Egyptian violations of the cease-fire. An Israeli soldier was killed near Suez. Disengagement discussions continued between Israeli and Egyptian military delegations in Geneva. Alexander Zivelli

50 years ago

Live Ammo

The Threat of Germ Weapons Is Rising. Fear, Too.

By WILLIAM J. BROAD
and JUDITH MILLER

AMERICAN troops in the Persian Gulf are vaccinated against deadly germs. So are Federal Bureau of Investigation agents who are probing a growing number of biological incidents. So are some White House officials.

Protections against living weapons are new to the military and security of the United States, and they raise troubling questions.

Is this prudence or paranoia? Should everyone be vaccinated? How real is the threat? Aren't deadly germs nearly impossible for attackers to use without hurting themselves? Isn't this threat just another bogeyman, like so many before?

Germ weapons, though around for centuries, have played no significant role in modern warfare and terrorism. Skeptics point to this history and say that biological strikes of any consequence are unlikely.

But officials in Washington from President Clinton on down are taking the issue very seriously, with thousands of people and billions of dollars in motion to address the germ threat.

"Eventually, this is going to hurt us," said Robert M. Blitzer, who recently left the Federal Bureau of Investigation after directing its section on domestic terrorism. "There's no question in my mind."

Moreover, a yearlong inquiry by The New York Times revealed trends that suggest the era of germ tranquility may indeed be ending.

Uprooted weapon scientists from Iraq, Russia and South Africa are hunting for new jobs and spreading germ secrets.

Radical states with reputations for supporting terror, such as Iran and Libya, are seeking germ weapons.

Terrorists, including Osama bin Laden, are increasingly interested in pestilential germs. Some boast openly of being able to kill foes with deadly plagues.

Today, officials in Washington stress that they know of no imminent danger, even while acknowledging the limitations of intelligence. Most agree that the threat, while low, is growing.

The defenses that Washington is quietly erecting, officials say, are akin to the insurance that homeowners take out against floods and earthquakes. The odds may be small, this argument goes, but precautions are warranted since conditions are changing and damage could be great.

R. James Woolsey, Director of Central Intelligence from 1993 to 1995, is among the former officials who are worried. Germ terrorism, he said in an interview, is "the single most dangerous threat to our national security in the foreseeable future."

The Munitions

Germ weapons can be hard to make and use, contrary to myth and claim. It took the United States decades to master the art before renouncing such arms in 1969. In the early 1980's, Aum Shinrikyo, a Japanese cult, launched at least nine germ attacks in Tokyo that were meant to kill millions. But the strikes produced no known injuries or deaths.

Dangerous to the attacker as well as the attacked if successful, germ weapons are considered most practical when used far from the aggressor's homeland;



Mark Leader for The New York Times

intervening land and sea establish what amounts to a quarantine.

The main appeal of such weapons is that they are incredibly cheap compared to chemical and atomic arms. Yet pound for pound, germ weapons rival nuclear ones for maiming and killing, and some biological agents are considered superior in that regard; in theory they can annihilate many millions of people.

Clearly, they surpass their nuclear kin as an instrument of fright and disruption: Once sown, infections can spread unpredictably, since they are alive. Experts especially worry about smallpox, which is highly contagious and seen as particularly dangerous since few people are now immunized against its ravages.

"To say the threat is low is not to minimize its potential," said Neil J. Gallagher, assistant director for national security at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Supply

Today, the secrets of germ warfare are increasingly up for grabs as weapon scientists from countries that made biological arsenals hunt for new jobs. The nomads are from Iraq (starting in 1991 after Persian Gulf war), Russia (starting in 1992 after the Soviet collapse) and South Africa (starting in 1994 as apartheid fell apart). Russia alone has many thousands of former germ warriors increasingly cold, poor and hungry.

Legitimate science also heightens the risk. The global war against infectious disease has produced more than 1,500 germ banks that tend to trade freely in deadly microbes.

Future strides could make matters even worse. Experts agree that research into the genetic foundations of life, an approach that promises to cure many diseases, might, in evil hands, one day produce weapons that work against only certain races or ethnic groups.

"It's difficult but not impossible," said Dr. Joshua Lederberg, a Nobel laureate in biology who advises Washington on germ warfare. More unsettling, he added, is that traditional killers seem to be a growing danger right now; he called them "a monster in the back yard."

The Demand

Today, at least 17 nations are suspected of having or trying to acquire germ weapons. Perhaps they want to deter foes. The wild card is that some (Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Syria) are also considered architects of terrorism.

Libya worked hard to join the germ club. In 1994, it sought to hire scientists fleeing South Africa's crumbling program, including its head, Dr. Wouter Basson. That move, officials say, was foiled by diplomatic pressure from Washington and London.

However, Libya may have succeeded in hiring (or perhaps hiding and employing for Baghdad) Dr. Amir Medidi, a top scientist of Iraq's germ effort, United Nations inspectors revealed.

Terrorists themselves seem increasingly drawn to germ weapons.

Osama bin Laden, the renegade Saudi millionaire known for his bitter hatred of America, is investigating them, American officials say. Whether his work has resulted in secret laboratories or usable arms, no one in Washington seems to know or is willing to say.

Continued on Page 12

Impeachment Republicans, 130 Years Later

Dueling With the Heirs of Jeff Davis

By PETER APPLEBOME

THE words, spoken by a Mississippi Congressman during the peak of the Reagan era, first to a gathering of the Sons of Confederate Veterans and later to a magazine that extols the virtues of the Confederacy, hardly have the sound of mainstream politics:

"I think that a lot of the fundamental principles that Jefferson Davis believed in are very important to people across the country, and they apply to the Republican Party," the Congressman told Southern Partisan magazine in 1984, adding that the Republican agenda "from tax policy, to foreign policy, from individual rights to neighborhood security are things that Jefferson Davis and his people believed in."

But as the impeachment of President Clinton moves inexorably to the Senate, those statements by Trent Lott, who is now the majority leader of the Senate, serve as a reminder of a striking link between the impeachment of President Bill Clinton and the only other Presidential impeachment, that of Andrew Johnson in 1868.

Both played out on a sharp regional fault line. For President Johnson, the divide reflected the aftermath of the Civil War. The issues surrounding Mr. Clinton's statements under oath about his relationship with Monica S. Lewinsky have nothing to do with North and South, but they come at a time when conservative Southerners hold virtually all of the Republican leadership positions in Congress. Southerners have also been the prime advocates of impeachment.

The revulsion over Mr. Clinton's conduct crosses both sides of the aisle, and Southerners have no monopoly on the sentiment that if Mr. Clinton lied under oath, he should be removed from office. Still, these two cases of Presidential impeachment, 130 years apart, show how potent the regional political divide can be.

Last week when Gov. George E. Pataki of New York decried the "horrible blunders" of Republicans in Washington, he was referring, whether consciously or not, to a Congressional delegation as dominated by angry Southerners as the Republicans of Johnson's era were dominated by vengeful Northerners intent on punishing the defeated South through Reconstruction.

"I've been surprised that there's been so little discussion of how much this whole process has been driven by the Southernization of the Republican Party."

Continued on Page 11



Trent Lott, the Senate Majority Leader, assails the President. That's the Mississippi flag.



Let's Be Frank Why American schools still teach French.

By Jacques
Steinberg

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Something Happened Where the AIDS virus hid for 20 years.

By Donald G.
McNeil Jr.

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Now What?

The full extent of damage to Iraq's military and civil structures is not clear. But the information from Washington and Baghdad suggests that Saddam Hussein is still firmly in place. And he has left no doubt that he will not let United Nations arms inspectors back in easily.

By Serge Schmemmann

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The Nation

Ready for Prime Time, Here Comes the Chief Justice

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

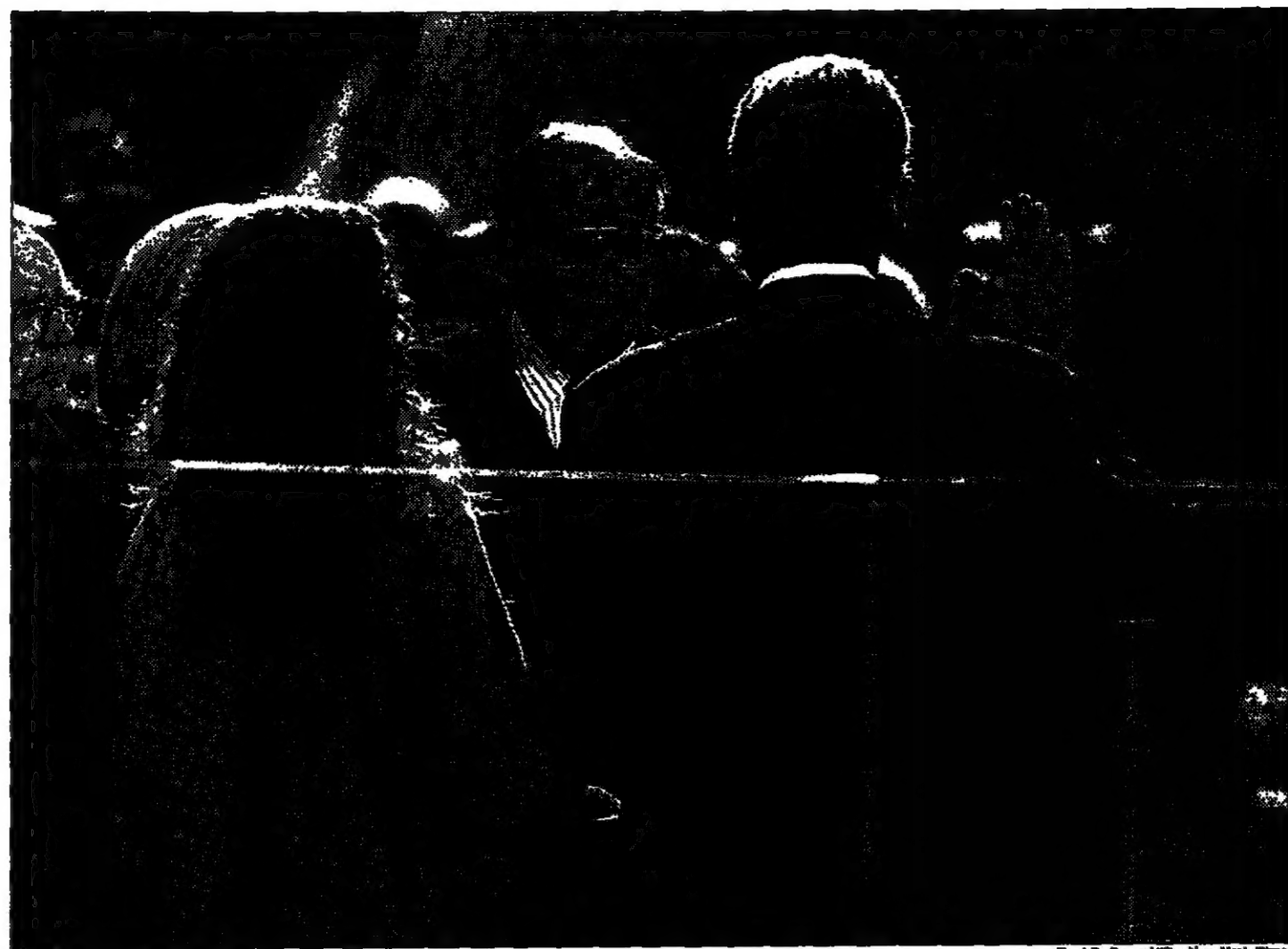
WASHINGTON
In a media-driven age when image so often defines power, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist is an anomaly: a powerful man whose public image is so fuzzy he can walk the halls and grounds of the Supreme Court, where he has served for 27 years, without attracting a tourist's second glance.

There are many imponderables about the impeachment trial scheduled to start in the Senate some 10 days from now, but at least one predictable result: If the trial of President Clinton indeed goes forward as something more than a brief formality on the way to a negotiated resolution, if it becomes the century's final televised sensation, William Rehnquist will emerge from the hide-in-plain-sight existence of a Supreme Court Justice into the glare of the public spotlight.

It is a fascinating prospect, not only because this 74-year-old amateur historian has written a book about two famous Senate impeachment trials. "Grand Inquests" (William Morrow, 1992), about the trials of Justice Samuel Chase in 1805 and President Andrew Johnson in 1868 — both of which ended in acquittals — is belatedly in demand from people scanning for clues to how the Chief Justice would conduct the trial of the President. The book, largely anecdotal in approach, contains no such clues, although it does display a decided skepticism about politically driven impeachment, a category that indisputably fits both those 19th-century episodes.

Beyond the coincidental fact of the Chief Justice as impeachment specialist, or the novel fact of the Chief Justice on display in every living room, is the intriguing prospect of watching a man accustomed to being very much in charge of a very controllable environment navigate in a realm where normal expectations don't apply. When Mr. Rehnquist announces, as he often does when the red light at the lawyers' podium comes on, "Counsel, your time has expired," the lawyer stops speaking, sometimes in mid-syllable, and sits down. The Chief Justice, presiding over an impeachment trial, can be overruled on any point, trivial or profound, by a vote of 51 senators.

While the Constitution gives the Senate "the sole power to try all impeachments," the trial is an odd amalgam of law and politics that would feel distinctly unfamiliar to any Federal judge. The 100 jurors, far from being a disinterested panel subject to challenge for connections to parties in the case, have in many instances broken bread



Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist swears in President Clinton at the 1997 inauguration.

with the defendant; some are his allies and other have made their disapproval clear. The Federal Rules of Evidence, under which much of the material the House considered during its impeachment debate would be excluded as hearsay, do not apply. The standard of proof — "beyond a reasonable doubt" in any real criminal trial — is not specified. The Chief Justice may rule on questions of evidence and procedure, but at the end of the day a majority of the Senate has the final word.

If the trial itself is a curiosity, so is the role the Constitution gives the Chief Justice. It is not really judicial at all. The Chief Justice serves as presiding officer of the

Senate, a surrogate for the Vice President, who presides over any non-Presidential impeachment trial but would have a conflict of interest when the President is on trial. There is no expectation that a Vice President is even a lawyer, let alone a judge.

YET because the language of law permeates the proceeding, it may be impossible to separate William Rehnquist the Chief Justice from William Rehnquist the surrogate presiding officer. In any event, this is a man accustomed to command, and it is hard to imagine him in the role of potted plant if the Senate overrides a procedural ruling that he thinks is necessary or important for consistency or regularity. Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, who presided over the only other Presidential impeachment trial, that of Andrew Johnson, threatened more than once to walk out if the Senate did not accept an evidentiary ruling, and the Senate blinked; the trial could not go on without him.

Another question is which William Rehnquist will be on display. There is a segment of the public that will forever see him as a one-dimensional, law-and-order Nixonian (he served as an Assistant Attorney General before his Supreme Court appointment in 1971) who embodies many of their concerns about the direction of the Court. He is a polarizing figure who drew 83 negative

votes in the Senate after a testy confirmation hearing in 1986, when President Ronald Reagan elevated him from Associate to Chief Justice.

Since then Chief Justice Rehnquist has not so much modulated his conservative views as he has stood fast while the entire spectrum, political as well as judicial, shifted to the right. It is not easy to portray him as an extremist when President Clinton signed a habeas corpus bill in 1996 that adopted the Chief Justice's long-held position in favor of cutting back state prisoners' access to Federal court.

Although in the courtroom, Chief Justice Rehnquist can often appear the stern task master, he has a dry wit and avid outside interests ranging from poker to art (he absented himself from one of President Reagan's State of the Union speeches be-

An impeachment expert, he would preside, not judge.

cause it conflicted with a painting class he was taking) to Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. A few years ago, he remodeled his basic black robe, adding four gold stripes on each sleeve to copy the Lord Chancellor's costume in a local production of "Iolanthe." In addition to three published books of history, he is the author of an unpublished mystery novel.

If his presence is indeed required in the Capitol, a few hundred yards across First Street from the Supreme Court building, it is a near certainty that the work of the Court will go on with little disruption. The Chief Justice is a fast writer and highly efficient manager of his time and others'. Not one to agonize over hard decisions, he takes the view that a second or third try rarely adds much of value to the initial assessment of a question or a case. The Justices' weekly closed-door conferences, to discuss new and pending cases, move along with dispatch, with conversation cut quite short and details and disagreements left to be expressed later in writing.

Three years ago, when the Chief Justice had back surgery and missed a conference, the job of presiding fell to John Paul Stevens, the senior Associate Justice. It was the first time in recent memory that the conference lasted through lunch.

Speaking Frankly

Parlez-Vous Français? But Why Bother?

By JACQUES STEINBERG

HIGH school teachers are abuzz with reports that Latin, long given up for dead, is actually showing a pulse. But the more remarkable news in language circles may really be that millions of American teenagers continue to study French, despite — and let's be gentle about this — the fading significance of France and the French language.

Consider that according to the most recent surveys, nearly 1 out of every 4 American students who learn a foreign language in middle school and high school still chooses French, a language spoken fluently by only about 1 out of every 50 people on the planet. By contrast, 1 percent of American teenagers study Chinese or Japanese, which combined are spoken by 20 percent of the world's people.

Thus comes as French has effectively ceded to English its longtime standing as the first language of diplomacy, among other crowns. So is French being taught out of proportion to its role in the family of nations and the global economy?

Richard Brecht thinks so. He is the director of a group called the National Council of Organizations of Less Commonly Taught Languages, which represents anyone teaching languages other than English, French, Spanish and German. He comes down particularly hard on French (studied by 22 percent of teenagers) and German (6 percent), saying he can think of no good reason to push them on so many American students at the expense of Russian or Japanese.

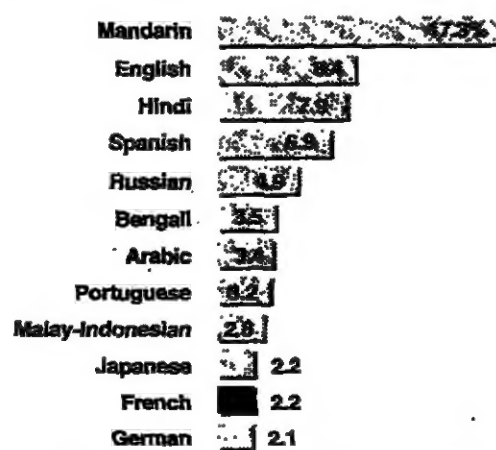
"The only answer that makes sense, besides the fact that those are the languages available, is that they are just so deeply embedded in our cultural traditions," said Mr. Brecht. "It becomes a cultural argument, not a logical argument, and that's not an argument."

Mr. Brecht, a professor of Russian at the University of Maryland, said it makes sense for Americans to know Spanish, which is "our second language" and which two out of three teenagers learn. So too the languages of Asia and Russia because their actions have social and economic consequences for the United States. Yet only 3 percent study Russian, 17 percent take Cantonese and Mandarin and 77 percent Japanese, according to the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

For the nation's middle and high schools, the reasons for offering French are often quite basic. One is tradition: America's love affair with French can be traced to 17th-century Southern colonists, whose classical education included the language. Though the world may have changed since then, a school's attempt to broaden its language palette can be difficult, with the teachers

Try Chinese or Spanish

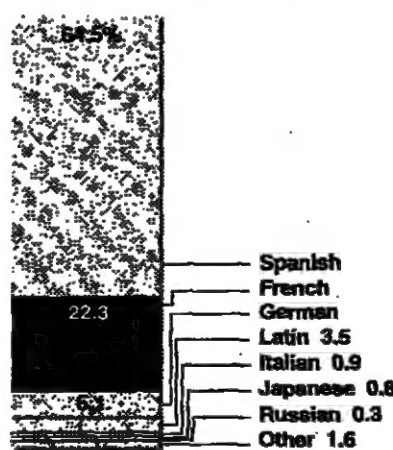
ONLY 2 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION SPEAKS FRENCH...



*Includes people who speak the language as a primary second language; for example, people in West Africa who speak French in business.

Sources: World Almanac; American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
The New York Times

BUT IT IS THE SECOND MOST POPULAR FOREIGN LANGUAGE WITH AMERICAN MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS



and time needed to offer Russian or Chinese or Arabic — harder and longer to master than French or Spanish — in short supply.

For the second year, Lake Forest High School in Felton, Del., a small town near Dover, is offering Japanese to 10 students. But to squeeze it into the curriculum — to meet their language requirement, roughly half the students take Spanish, the other half French — the class is given after school, via satellite from the University of Georgia. The program costs \$5,000, and the principal, Michael Carr, said that the district could not have afforded it without a Federal grant.

There are, of course, more than a few Francophiles who are appalled at any suggestion that the importance of French is declining. After all, French is necessary for translating the later works of Voltaire, or even the earlier works of Celine Dion, a French Canadian. And how would one know the difference between coq au vin (chicken in wine sauce) and un joli coco (a stinker)?

Defenders of French can be found even in traditionally unfriendly places. A British official at the United Nations, who insisted on anonymity so he would not be seen as a defender of the French, said that French can occasionally be useful. "If you want to impress your girlfriend," he said, "have a bit of French pillow talk."

Holding out another olive branch, he added, "I don't think you should necessarily be hard posed, saying you should only learn a language that is going to further your business interests. People need an education to

be enlightened, and French is part of that." But French has limited practicality, he conceded. "I have enough trouble in a cab in New York," he said. "There, Urdu might be helpful."

Not so for those traveling to Quebec, where French is a necessity and the use of English is restricted on signs, or for those interested in the arts. Morgan Aronson, a ninth grader at the Fieldston School in the Bronx, is in her third year of French, which she believes will help her in becoming a ballerina. "The steps that are done, they were named in France, because that is sort of where ballet took hold," said Morgan, 14. "We do little stories in French class. Someone was throwing something and the book used the word *jeu*. I thought, 'Oh, I know what that is.'"

Amanda Wilder, an 11th grader at the Kent School in Litchfield County, Conn., could have chosen German, Spanish, Japanese or Latin. While most of her classmates selected Spanish, she picked French.

"I had been told that French was the language of the diplomats," she said, "and that all high-powered people, such as Madeline Albright, spoke it."

Yet it is in the area of diplomacy that French has suffered some of its bitterest losses. While some in France continue to swear away Americanized phrases like *le stress* and *disque-jockey* that have slipped through their borders, delegates of former French colonies from Africa and Southeast Asia are increasingly choosing to communi-



In Holliston, Mass., a third grader tackles some unfamiliar French words.

cate in English rather than French at official conclaves.

And at the United Nations in 1996 the French lost a very public battle to keep Kofi Annan of Ghana from succeeding Boutros Boutros-Ghali as Secretary General. The French had objected because Mr. Annan speaks French with, well, an English accent. It is perhaps telling that Mr. Boutros-Ghali, an Egyptian who speaks excellent French, is now secretary general of La

Francophonie in Paris, which, he says, is seeking to "promote solidarity" among 52 nations that share French as a first, second or, in the case of Egypt, third language.

"My mother tongue is Arabic," Mr. Boutros-Ghali said, "I write in Arabic, dream in Arabic and have disputes with my wife in Arabic."

"But among the different languages," he added, "I believe French has a certain weight."

JAN 10 1999

The World

Stalemate Lives On
After the Bombing

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S predicament with Iraq is painfully familiar to anyone who was ever a kid and tried the line, "If you don't stop that, I'm gonna hit you." Ideally, the adversary backed down. But sometimes he didn't, leaving you no choice but to smack him. And then, if he was still at it, you had a problem. Either you went at him again, this time for keeps, or you backed down. These are games Middle Eastern leaders know exceedingly well, and play with devilish effect.

To be sure, that is not how the Administration is painting its predicament in the wake of the 70-hour bombing of Saddam Hussein's Iraq. In a speech to the National Press Club Wednesday, Samuel R. Berger, the national security adviser, declared outright victory: "For Saddam, 1998 was the year to break out of the box he has been in, the year to end containment. He has failed."

Mr. Berger's logic was that the policy of containment rested on four pillars: economic sanctions, United Nations inspections, the credible use of force and "diplomacy to sustain an international consensus in pursuit of this goal." When Mr. Hussein tried to shake one pillar, the inspection system, he effectively challenged them all. So if the United States failed to respond with force, "there would be no deterrence against future aggression, because the threat of force would no longer be credible." Now, Mr. Berger declared, Mr. Hussein had been shown he could not shake off containment. Therefore, the United States had achieved its goal.

Mr. Berger marshaled considerable arguments in support of this contention, from a list of damage done by the bombing, to the interesting claim that international sanctions have benefited the Iraqi people, because under the policy of allowing Iraq to trade oil directly for food, the people were getting food, and not tanks, for their oil.

The problem with these arguments is that the threat of force — like threatening to smack a pesky kid, or building a nuclear deterrent — works best so long as it remains a threat. If used, it had best be used decisively, or the pest may prove far harder to dislodge the next time around.

The full extent of damage to Mr. Hussein's military and civil structures is not

clear yet, and it is possible that the dictator is reeling from a lucky punch, or that his opponents now see more clearly the advantages of an Iraq without Saddam Hussein.

But the information from Washington and Baghdad suggests that Mr. Hussein is still firmly in place. As a result, two other pillars of the American containment policy — United Nations inspections and international consensus — are wobbling. Mr. Hussein has left no doubt that he will not let United Nations arms inspectors back in easily, while the growing resistance from Russia, China and, to a lesser degree, France will make it harder for America to sustain the full range of economic sanctions.

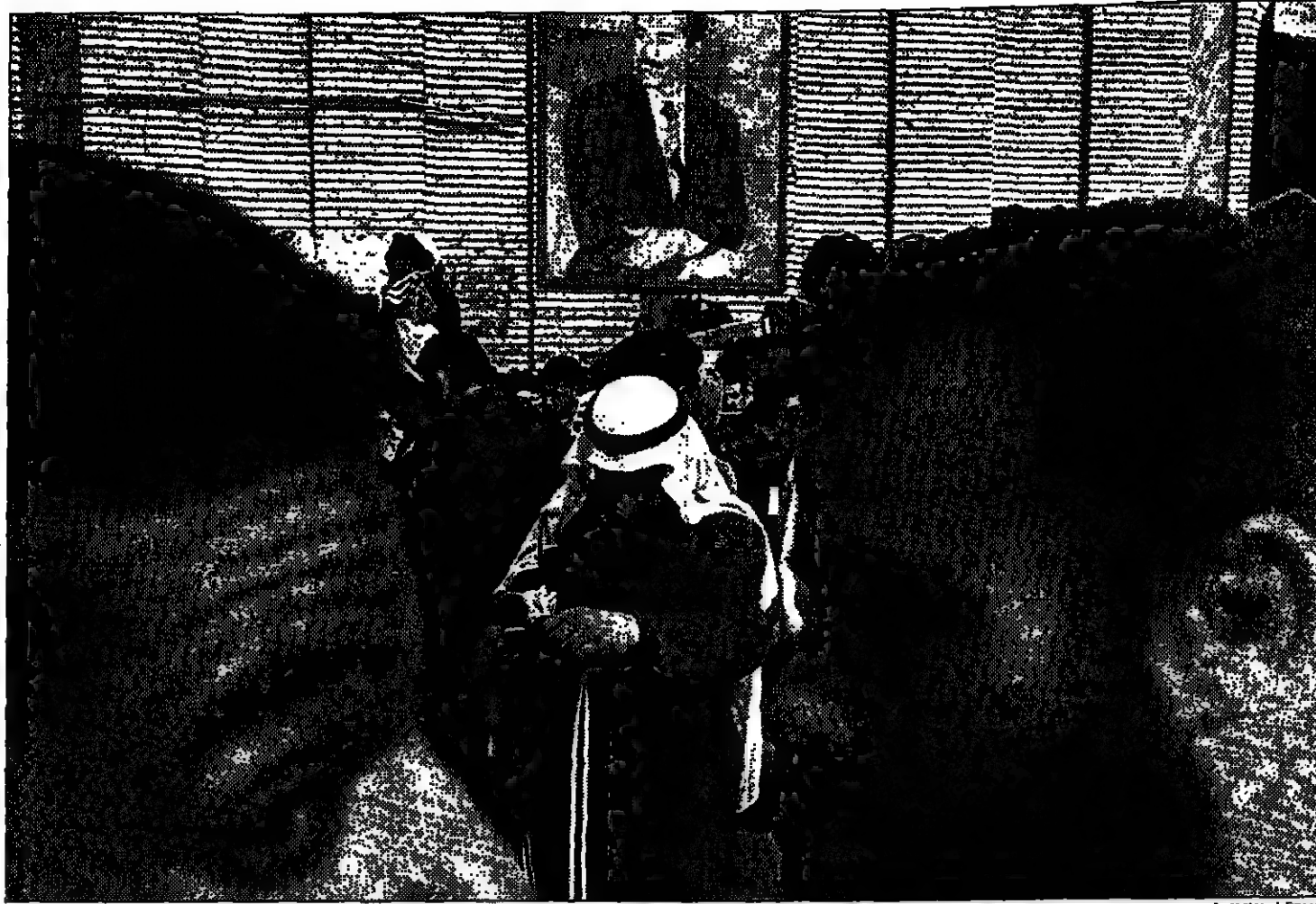
"Yes, we showed that we were prepared to use force, but we didn't show that we figured out how to use force as part of a larger strategy," said Richard N. Haass, director of foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution. "We haven't lost sanctions, but the 70 hours of strikes clearly will lead to a further erosion of support for sanctions. I think we can keep the bulk of sanctions — the ban on military imports, international control on revenues — but increasingly Iraq can export whatever it wants, and import much of what it wants."

"So if we add it up, by using force without apparent purpose, it's hard to argue that the U.S. has gained over the last two weeks. We've lost ground."

THE mistake, Mr. Haass argued, was not in the use of force, in which the United States had no choice, but in trying to play it safe in choosing a strike limited in time and scope. The short-term advantage was that by defining a limited goal, in this case punishment, the Administration was certain of success. The very fact of launching a strike achieved the stated goal.

The disadvantage is that the United States is now left with a new range of problems, all of them unsavory.

If Mr. Hussein keeps the door closed to inspectors from the United Nations Special Commission, or Unscorn, the United States will either have to agree to a different and less intrusive form of inspections, or it will have to bash Mr. Hussein again. Weakening Unscorn would almost certainly prompt Mr. Hussein to test his new limits. If the United States does opt for force, the attack is certain to be even less popular than the last



Under Saddam Hussein's visage, Iraqis did business in a Baghdad market Wednesday, four days after the latest air strikes stopped.

one, and Washington will be under heavy pressure to set more ambitious goals — a palpable blow to Iraq's arms program, or a firm agreement from Mr. Hussein to allow unconditional inspections, or his fall.

Next, Russia, China and France, supported by much of the third-world, would be likely to generate pressure at the United Nations Security Council for a loosening of sanctions, which Washington is not likely to withstand. That, in turn, would tempt Mr. Hussein to seek ways of creating more friction in the crumbling coalition.

Conversely, Mr. Hussein also narrows his options every time he challenges the United States. The fact that he did not immediately take reporters to sites of American bomb attacks suggest they must have been effective. And if Unscorn is not allowed to inspect suspicious sites, the United States will have more incentive, and justification, to bomb them. As Mr. Berger put it, Mr. Hussein "has learned that what cannot be inspected can, in many cases, be destroyed."

A second consequence of the raids is that

the United States has finally begun talking openly of ousting Mr. Hussein. In the past, the common wisdom was that toppling him in the absence of a viable opposition would create a dangerous power vacuum in a pivotal part of the Middle East, in which ethnic and religious factions and neighboring states would inevitably fall at each others' throats. But as Mr. Hussein resists every attempt to curb his ambitions, overthrowing him may come to be seen as the lesser evil.

In his address, Mr. Berger conceded that air attacks weren't enough to dislodge Mr. Hussein, and that the United States was not now prepared to pay the high cost of the required military operation, nor of the occupation that would follow.

Yet the fact that Mr. Hussein can foment discord in the Security Council and anti-American sentiments in the Arab world has not meant that he is making new friends or allies. Quite the contrary: All the disputes over Mr. Hussein have been about how to

make him behave, not about the fact of his misbehavior, and the consensus among experts on the Middle East is that leaders the world over, from Europe to the Middle East, would now breathe a deep sigh of relief if he were toppled.

So the standoff continues, with the latest clash generating only more unknowns. As a dictator, Mr. Hussein probably measures success in terms of the confrontations he has withstood and the democratic leaders he has outlasted. No doubt he finds it heartening at times to tick off the names and fates of Western leaders who have challenged him: George Bush, defeated. Margaret Thatcher, ditto. François Mitterrand, dead. And now Bill Clinton, impeached.

But the United States can also find solace in precedent. "We know from experience that when people struggling for freedom gain the moral and material support of the American people, they usually prevail in the end," Mr. Berger declared. "Change will come to Iraq, at a time and in a manner that we can influence but not predict."

Heirs of Jeff Davis

Continued from Page 9

said Dan Carter, a historian at Emory University in Atlanta. "Maybe it's like the purloined letter: It's sitting there on the shelf right in front of you, so you don't see it."

MR. CLINTON, a Southerner as Johnson was, has his harshest critics in his native South, where the values that inflame conservatives are most intense. A recent New York Times/CBS News poll found support for impeachment higher in the South than in any other part of the country.

In the Congress that ended with the President's impeachment, the Republicans in the House had a Speaker, Newt Gingrich, from Georgia; a majority leader, Dick Armey, from Texas, and a majority whip, Tom DeLay, from Texas. The Senate's majority leader, Mr. Lott, won his job by defeating the other Senator from Mississippi, Thad Cochran.

When Mr. Gingrich stepped down, Bob Livingston of Louisiana succeeded him. Impeachment's first and most vocal proponent has been Bob Barr of Georgia, and the possibility of censure was ruled out as an option by Mr. DeLay, who stepped into the leadership vacuum left by Mr. Gingrich's decision to step down. Mr. Livingston has since announced his own resignation after acknowledging a few extramarital infidelities.

The independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, a Texan, began his tenure amid furious controversy when it was revealed that Senators Jesse Helms and Lauch Faircloth of North Carolina met with David Sentelle of North Carolina, Mr. Helms's protégé and the conservative judge who heads the appellate panel that appointed Mr. Starr, before Mr. Starr was named.

The only non-Southern Republican who has played a major role in the House has been Henry Hyde of Ohio, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. But Mr. Hyde has always voted like a Southerner, with a 100 percent rating by the Christian Coalition and a legislative career most identified with his support of a ban on abortion.

Historians, though, tend to see more differences than similarities between the two impeachments.

Mr. Carter of Emory notes that Johnson's impeachment revolved around profound national issues, with House Republicans bitterly opposing the President's lenient approach to the South's re-entry to the

Union and his relative indifference to the rights of 3.5 million newly emancipated blacks.

"I don't want to denigrate perjury as an issue," Mr. Carter said. "But I think you have to keep your eye on the triviality of the issues here compared to those of 1868."

Similarly, Eric Foner, the Columbia University historian, said both efforts grew out of deeply held animus toward the President with impeachment a vehicle for much broader divisions. But Mr. Johnson's impeachment reflected profound political differences, he said. Mr. Clinton has largely adopted many of the conservative positions of those who detest him, Mr. Foner said. And he noted that the regional divide now is less North and South and more the burgeoning suburbs of the South and West versus the older areas of the Northeast and Midwest.

Mr. Carter said a more revealing comparison than Mr. Johnson's impeachment was the Democratic Party of the 1850's. "It became so totally dominated by Southerners, it led the South to disaster," he said.

Whether that is a risk for Republicans now as they fly in the face of public opinion is something many politicians are pondering.

MANY Southerners revel in the South's new-found Republicanism. One T-shirt shows the Confederate battle flag in the form of a Republican elephant with the words "Lincoln's Worst Nightmare!" The back features the flags of the Southern states and the words "A States Rights Republican Majority From Dixie." But other Republicans worry about appearing too Southern. Some see the likely election of Dennis Hastert of Illinois as the next Speaker as an attempt, at least in part, to provide more balance for the party.

Of course, regional passions need not be faulty ones. Historians generally think that impeaching Johnson may have been a mistake, but the so-called radical Republicans were correct in their outrage over his policies. Today's Republicans may be proved right for their outrage toward President Clinton as well.

But whether the current cast of Southern Republicans can lead the G.O.P. to long-term majority status is another question.

"I don't think you can sell the Republicans as the party of Jefferson Davis and have a viable national party," said Merle Black, an Emory political scientist.

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The World

AIDS in Africa: The Silent Stalker

By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr.

THE earliest confirmed case of infection with HIV-1, the virus that causes most AIDS cases around the world, is in a blood sample taken from an African man in 1959, in what was then the Belgian Congo. Earlier this year, D.N.A. analysts at the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center in New York, comparing that sample with others and calculating mutation rates, estimated that the killer virus came into existence sometime in the late 1940's or early 1950's.

If that's the case, what happened? Where did it go? How could the virus, which is now threatening to kill a quarter of some African countries, have gone virtually unnoticed for 20 years — and then emerged in America, decimating gay men and hemophiliacs in the late 70's before starting on a ruthless march of conquest around the world?

Was it a failure of medical detection? Racist indifference to Africa by the West? Something in the rapidly mutating virus itself?

The short answer is: No one knows for sure. But there are pretty good theories.

The history of the epidemic is a jigsaw puzzle of helpful and unhelpful facts, disproven former "facts" and a lot of notions, both scientific and paranoid. Each new fact sweeps big chunks of the puzzle onto the floor.

Making matters worse, it's probably the most geopolitically touchy disease since porphyria drove England's 18th century kings mad. It makes the bubonic plague look politically correct. Everyone hates rats and fleas, but AIDS can't be discussed without talking about matters at the core of human nature, desire or habit: sex, blood, homosexuality, heroin-shooting, walking skeletons, brain viruses, even monkey-eating.

The most paranoid theory — that the disease was created in a United States Army germ warfare lab built in Maryland in 1977 — was exposed as K.G.B. propaganda first published in 1985. This latest D.N.A. analysis, performed last February, demonstrates that the disease long predates the lab.

Many scientists have long thought that the H.I.V. virus came from African monkeys. Several varieties of S.I.V. (simian immunodeficiency virus) have existed harmlessly, probably for thousands of years, in green monkeys, mangabeys and baboons, but not in Asian or South American monkeys. Monkeys are eaten in the central African rain forest, and raw monkey brain is said to be a delicacy in parts of Zaire, just as it is in Hong Kong.

The assumption is that the virus jumped to humans who had eaten or butchered monkeys, or had been bitten by monkeys. That could have happened any time — or many times — in the last 10,000 years. It probably happened at least three times, because H.I.V.-2, the weaker strain prevalent in Guinea-Bissau, is closely related to the S.I.V. in local mangabeys. The same is true for H.I.V.-O, a rare strain found in Cameroon. Neither is genetically close to H.I.V.-1.

the virulent strain that has been killing people from central Africa to San Francisco to Bangkok.

But H.I.V.-1 didn't necessarily jump to humans as a killer. Some scientists believe a weak early form was caught by European colonists as early as 1900, and one scientist blames it for an outbreak of P.C.P. pneumonia, which is associated with AIDS, in Danzig, Germany, in 1939. Others are skeptical.

Somewhere, probably west of Lake Victoria, and sometime, possibly in the 1940's, H.I.V.-1 mutated inside a human host into an attacker of T-cells and rapid destroyer of immune systems.

It must have spread very slowly at first, in rural areas. It certainly was not killing large numbers of Africans.

"If the disease had been widespread in the 1950's and 1960's, there were enough experienced clinicians in Africa to have noticed something like that going on," said Dr. Anne Buvé, an epidemiologist with the Institute for Tropical Medicine in Antwerp, Belgium.

SOME TIME in the 1960's or 1970's, said Dr. Peter Piot, a former researcher in Zaire who is now the executive director of UNAIDS in Geneva, the virus probably moved out of Zaire's rural areas to the cities, and then spread from the continent.

It may have gone to Haiti with the French-speaking Haitians who filled up Zaire's civil service after the Belgians fled in 1960. It may have gone straight to America, perhaps with the Peace Corps. It may have gone to Cuba with soldiers returning from northern Angola.

In any case, it ultimately came to public attention because it somehow got into a population vastly different from central Africa's. The gay communities in San Francisco and New York were small and insular. Anal sex and promiscuity sped the virus through them. Gay Americans were also well educated, well served by doctors and well organized in a civil rights struggle. When mysterious deaths began to hit, they noticed immediately and shouted loudly. Within five years of the late 70's, when fears focused on rumors of "gay cancer," the disease had a name and its virus had been found. Books and TV movies followed.

Meanwhile, in Africa, AIDS was making steady progress, but with less public attention. As early as 1981, doctors in Paris and Brussels diagnosed it among wealthy Zaireans treated in Europe. By 1983, doctors from the Institute for Tropical Medicine and the Centers for Disease Control were hunting it in Africa.

As Mirko Grmek's "History of AIDS" (Princeton University Press, 1990) describes a 1985 conference on African AIDS, only a few cases had been confirmed in Africa. "Belgian and French physicians attending the meeting insisted a true epidemic was under way," Mr. Grmek wrote. "The representatives of affected countries took offense and insisted on denying the problem."

Another quirk: most of the first hard-hit countries were Francophone, to which the British and American press pay less attention.



A man critically ill with meningitis, which often strikes AIDS patients, in Malawi.

Slowly, more facts turned up. A Danish surgeon who died in 1977, apparently of AIDS, had worked in rural Zaire from 1972 to 1975. An increase in Kaposi's sarcoma dating to mid-century was recalled. More aggressive Kaposi's hit Zambia and Uganda in 1982.

WHEN researchers traveled through remote western Uganda in 1985 to study "slim disease," which appeared in the early 1980's, they brought new AIDS-test kits, and all 28 "slim" victims proved H.I.V.-positive. A 1987 study by Dr. Piot of 454 blood samples frozen after a 1976 Ebola virus outbreak in Zaire found five H.I.V.-positive ones.

AIDS migrated out along truck routes, hitting hardest in border towns where truckers wait for days to clear customs. It was also still mutating; — there are now 10 subgroups of H.I.V.-1, all fatal.

Now a new question is stumping scientists: Why is AIDS hitting eastern and southern Africa so much harder than it did the area where it originated? Among pregnant women visiting clinics in Kinshasa, the capital of Congo, and nearby Yaounde, Cameroon, infection rates reached a plateau that was below 10 percent. But in eastern and southern African cities from Kampala, Uganda, to Richard's Bay, South Africa, they have hit 30 percent and are still rising.

No one knows why. The virus may have mutated. Southern Africans may have less resistant genes. There may be something in sexual habits, venereal disease rates, circumcision practices.

Figuring out exactly where it all started, some scientists say, is less important. "People have become pretty pragmatic," Dr. Buvé said. "They are asking, 'Do we need to know? Let's rather look at the future.'"

Spring Turns To Winter In Beijing

By ELISABETH ROSENTHAL

THREE months ago, Wang Youcai was feeling optimistic about the prospects of the China Democratic Party, a fledgling group he had helped to found and hoped to register as China's first opposition party. "I think the likelihood I'll be re-arrested is very small," he said in an interview.

But last week, after swift trials, Mr. Wang, 32, and two other organizers, Xu Wenli and Qin Yong, were sentenced to more than a decade each in prison for "subverting state power." And in a speech, President Jiang Zemin proclaimed that challenges to Communist rule would be "annihilated in the early stages."

The surprising thing is that all this came at the end of a year when China's rigid political system had seemed to be relaxing its grip. So the verdicts sent ebullient hopes that China was poised for change crashing to the ground — and not just for the dissidents but for the many Western leaders who have flocked to Beijing in the past year, applauding China for progress on human rights and legal reform.

How had their optimism been so far off base? Where their calculations overly simplistic, or terribly wrong?

In fact, many signs in 1998 suggested that China's leaders were ready for a dose of political reform: President Jiang Zemin discussed Tibet and the Tiananmen massacre with President Clinton during an hour of live television. China said it would sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Chinese officials played host to Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights.

But in their optimism, many people overestimated the significance of such events, overlooking the obvious: That China remains a one-party state, with the rule of the Communist Party written into its Constitution.

"These were all important steps, but I think they were misinterpreted by dissidents and by many in the outside world," said Andrew Nathan, a professor of political science at Columbia University in New York. "They decided that initiatives for change could come from outside rather than inside the Communist Party. But that was never true."

Still, the Clinton visit in June seemed remarkably open, and dissidents like Mr. Wang thought that the time was ripe to propose an alternative party. A few months later, initial attempts to register the party in two provinces were not immediately squashed. So the members felt further emboldened.

In fact the China Democratic Party never even came close to registering — no closer than hearing from a few local officials that if its members could show things like an official meeting place and a list of members, they were free to turn in an application.

But for activists who had previously landed in jail for their democratic leanings, it seemed like progress, even though no one knew for sure just why China's leaders had turned cordial. Was it all a show for the West, and particularly for Ms. Robinson, whose visit was just weeks away? Or was there genuine debate about political reform among the top leadership? The optimists chose to act on the chance that the opening



In Hong Kong, a protest of Xu Wenli's arrest.

was real.

"Especially around August and September there seemed to be a thaw," said Chen Zhonghe, a Democratic Party member in Wuhan. "And some had the belief that Jiang Zemin might offer a different approach. That turned out to be an illusion."

Foreign governments and visiting dignitaries tuned in to the liberalizing signals as well, and they too found their hopes raised. Journalists proclaimed a Beijing spring. Lawyers from England, Germany and the United States came to assist China's much publicized quest for "rule of law."

But many of these Westerners have little experience in China. And they have not spent much time with the older generation of men who run China. Following their own democratic interests, they have focused instead on the younger, more progressive, often Western-trained officials and academics.

PRESIDENT CLINTON met with homeowners. Hillary Rodham Clinton visited a groundbreaking women's legal aid center. It was easy to leave with optimistic impressions. Now the trials are reminders that, although China is undoubtedly moving toward a bit more openness, the direction is not necessarily toward Western democracy.

Western lawyers who recently took part in free-wheeling law forums here said they were shocked that the dissidents were not even accorded lawyers or open trials, as are guaranteed by Chinese law. "We hear a lot about China moving towards 'rule of law,' which we tend to conflate with democracy or a multi-party system," said Sharon Hom, a law professor and expert on China at the City University of New York. "We assume they go hand in hand, but that's not true in China. Rule of law in China is to promote economic development and modernization. When push comes to shove, it does not include political development."

Many China scholars say they hope, at best, for incremental change. "I think there's enough ferment that will cause boundaries on political discourse to be slowly expanded outward," said Stanley Lubman, a consulting professor at Stanford University Law School. "The Chinese leadership, however, has never indicated how much loss of control it will tolerate."

The Germ Weapon Threat Rises. Fear, Too.

(Continued from Page 9)

Nasser Asad Al-Famimi, an Islamic radical, has been vocal. Early this year Al-Balad, a Jordanian newspaper, quoted him as saying that "jihad" had at last discovered how to win the holy war — lethal germs.

Disturbingly, growing interest abroad is shared by domestic radicals and militia groups at home. Catalogues catering to them carry ads for such books as "Guide to Germ Warfare."

Larry Wayne Harris, an Ohioan with a history of hate-group affiliations, was arrested in 1995 for having bought plague bacteria from a germ bank under false pretenses. A registered microbiologist, he now says the microbes were strictly for defensive purposes.

"There are groups all over the world after this kind of stuff," Mr. Harris said, his blue eyes icy. "You're not going to stop germ warfare. The only thing to do is defend yourself."

The Assessment

Intelligence experts say knowing the truth is hard. Spies and satellites are only marginally helpful for ferreting out biological gear as small as kitchen cookware that is easy to hide and whose purpose can be peaceful (unlike the nuclear arms, bombers, ships, missiles and factories that dominated the cold war). Even hundreds of arms inspectors in Iraq, who probed that nation for seven years, ended up with as many questions as answers.

Moreover, the attention focused on germ warfare has already helped give rise to germ hoaxes, and experts worry that serious concern might give way to complacency. This year, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is fighting a wave of false anthrax threats in letters mailed to abortion clinics.

Federal officials note that Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, mastermind of the 1993

World Trade Center blast, which killed six people and injured more than 1,000, claimed that his goal was to have one tower fall into the other and kill a quarter million people — more than died in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

A top former official disclosed that Mr. Yousef, when arrested in 1995, was found to have been studying not only chemical but biological weapons.

John C. Gannon, chairman of the National Intelligence Council of the Central Intelligence Agency, last month told a Stanford University meeting that the danger of germ and chemical devastation is rising.

He warned that terrorists and foes with such weapons are growing in number and that the increasingly lethal agents they are developing "have the potential to cause massive casualties."

The Response

Federal officials are struggling to tighten commerce in germs both at home and abroad. President Clinton himself recently raised the issue at Camp David with Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the President of Brazil, who has begun a program to restrict germ sales.

In Russia, Washington is expanding cooperative programs meant to keep former germ warriors in place doing peaceful research.

In NATO, Washington is arguing that the Atlantic alliance should take the lead in a global fight to stop terrorists from getting or using germ weaponry.

Meanwhile, the American military is vaccinating all troops against anthrax, which causes high fevers and death, and has begun a \$322 million program to build stockpiles of 18 other vaccines, including one against smallpox.

Recently, Congress approved \$51 million to start building domestic stockpiles of medicines and antibiotics, especially for police, fire and health workers.

Physical security at key Federal buildings is being enhanced to foil terrorists who might try to spread deadly germs and chemicals through the air. The steps include ventilation improvements so a gentle breeze blows outward whenever a door or window is opened. In theory, this so-called positive pressure will automatically sweep away dangerous agents.

Across the country, Federal officials are holding seminars in the nation's top 120 cities to train emergency personnel. More broadly, intelligence agencies are struggling to monitor terrorists more closely. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's nightmare is talented loners, who are difficult to track.

The Pentagon is weighing whether to ask the President to authorize appointment of a military commander who could plan and direct operations to defend the continental United States in the event of germ chaos, a step beyond the civil defenses of the early cold war. No such commander's post now exists.

"Within minutes of an event, people are

going to turn to us," John J. Hamre, the deputy Secretary of Defense, told a meeting of military officials in explaining the need for homeland defense. "It could get crazy very fast."

To date, there has been little public debate over the risks and benefits of such actions, partly because the many responses to the germ threat have been both quiet, to avoid frightening Americans, and piecemeal.

But that may change as echoes of bomb shelters start to reverberate and as Washington scans the horizon to better judge the danger in the years and decades ahead.

Tension is sure to rise between the need for protection and "rights to privacy, something that we hold very dear," Defense Secretary William S. Cohen recently told the Council on Foreign Relations.

That kind of friction, he added, will force "unpleasant choices" in the near future. "We haven't really faced up to it yet."



Marines specially trained for biological threats drill outside the Pentagon in 1997.

Sticker Shock: The Euro Exposes Uneven Pricing

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

KLAUS GOSSENS built his career by thinking more like a European than a German. As head of European trade management at Braun A.G., he has nurtured one of Europe's best-known brand names for such household gadgets as coffee makers, spice grinders and electric shavers.

So, as most of Europe takes a huge step toward unity by introducing its new single currency, the euro, why is Mr. Gossens worried?

His problem is prices. A Braun Flex Integral shaver sells for about \$90 in Spain, \$103 in the Netherlands, \$118 in Germany and \$124 in France. There are similar variations for countless other products: Chanel perfume, Volkswagen sedans, Levi's jeans, even Bayer aspirin. And French or German consumers are not the only ones who pay more. Europe's biggest retailers themselves often pay their suppliers different prices in different countries.

"Until now, buyers tolerated those differences," Mr. Gossens said in a recent interview at Braun headquarters here, north of Frankfurt. "But they aren't tolerating them anymore. We are entering a situation where everything is very transparent. If I am a buyer and I don't get satisfactory answers about prices, I'll go off to another company."

That may sound like Economics 101, but until recently Europeans have been fighting it. Though the European Union abolished most trade barriers among member countries years ago, European retail markets remain stubbornly balkanized.

Now, as 11 countries prepare to start using the euro as their common currency on Friday, the crazy-quilt system has become a battleground. By eliminating the fig leaf of different currencies, the euro should theoretically make it much easier to compare prices and to pounce on discrepancies. It is also likely to give a new boost to cross-border transactions within Europe, because it will eliminate exchange-rate fluctuations and the cost of hedging against them.

Though the new bills and coins will not begin circulating until 2002, the euro is already quite real. The participating countries — Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Finland — will permanently lock their exchange rates to the euro on New Year's Eve and surrender their control over monetary policy to the new European Central Bank.

Indeed, some stores have begun posting prices in euros and plan to start accepting euros on credit card purchases as early as Jan. 4. Banks are required to let their customers keep their accounts in either euros or the local currency, and all interbank transfers will be cleared in euros.

Big industrial companies like DaimlerChrysler and Siemens are converting their own books and prodding their suppliers to deal in euros as quickly as possible.

All this is accelerating a revolution in prices that began when the European Union essentially abolished trade barriers among member countries earlier in this decade.

Big retailers like Carrefour Group in France and Metro A.G. of Germa-



An advertisement in a window at Commerzbank in Frankfurt, above, takes a fatalistic attitude: "The euro will do it; the euro won't." Shops at a Leclerc supermarket near Paris, top, post prices in two currencies.

ny are beefing up their computer systems to catch suppliers' pricing discrepancies. Car companies, already struggling with overcapacity and brutal competition, are grudgingly bringing prices into closer alignment from country to country. Computer manufacturers, generating more sales through the borderless Internet, are doing the same.

Still, those who expect Adam Smith's invisible hand to eliminate the incongruity — and to do so swiftly — are likely to be disappointed. European prices are rooted in big social and institutional differences that companies have learned to respect.

Buying power, for example, is much weaker in Spain and Portugal, where personal incomes are about 25 percent lower than the European average. Aspirin is more expensive in Germany in part because laws aimed at protecting small pharmacies prohibit supermarkets from selling it. Groceries are expensive in Paris; the city has prohibited high-volume "hypermarkets" within its boundaries. Sales taxes and luxury taxes also vary, despite years of efforts to harmonize them.

With so many variables, there are no simple patterns in the price differences. A recent survey by Test-Achats, a consumer research association in Brussels, found that Italy had the lowest prices for Swatch watches but among the highest for Lacoste polo shirts.

"I think the euro will bring lower prices over all, but that the price differences will be more or less the ones we have right now," said Stéphane Douchy, a market analyst at Test-Achats.

With the euro, "there will be greater price transparency," added Harald Münzberg, a retail industry expert at Gemini Consulting in Bad Homburg, Germany. Still, he said, it will remain "relatively difficult to figure out prices."

"There are many different prices for many different products," he added. "There are discounts, advertising allowances, rebates. All of that leads to different pricing."

For people like Mr. Gossens of Braun, which is owned by the Gillette Corporation, it also adds up to big struggles ahead.

"Our customers are coming to us and saying, 'We want to pay the lowest prices possible,'" he said. "But what is that? Is pricing what you have in your price list? Is it the price after you deduct bonuses and conditions? What are you really comparing across countries?"

Sharpening Their Pencils

The customers Mr. Gossens has in mind are people like Vincent de Meaux, who coordinates euro planning at Carrefour Group, Europe's closest answer to Wal-Mart. Based in Paris, the company owns nearly 200 hypermarkets in Europe — most of them in France — and 100 more in Asia and Latin America.

Mr. de Meaux is looking forward to the euro era, in which he expects retailers to grab more influence over pricing from the hands of their suppliers. "The market dynamics have existed for several years already," he said in a recent interview in Paris. "But this will make more pressure on suppliers; that is obvious. It's not going to happen overnight on Jan. 1. It will take a few years. But it will be a big change."

Like Wal-Mart, Carrefour sells everything from fresh fish to personal computers, relying on huge volume to eke profits from small margins. With total sales this year of about \$32 billion, it competes ferociously on price and puts constant pressure on suppliers.

It is not alone. Metro A.G. of Germany is now the world's second-biggest retailer, behind only Wal-Mart, operating everything from warehouse and department stores to



A clock in Frankfurt is counting the days, hours, minutes and seconds until the debut of the euro on Friday. On top is the official euro sign.

cash-and-carry grocery outlets. Inditex S.A. of Spain owns clothing stores in much of Europe as well as Latin America and Asia.

Yet Europe's incongruities are sufficiently confounding — and so deeply seated — that even these giant retailers can hardly expect to call all the shots.

For one thing, European consumers have widely varying tastes, which means that identical goods are not sold everywhere and that comparison-pricing across borders can be tricky. Italians like big, "family-sized" bottles of shampoo, for instance, while French families prefer smaller bottles tailored to individuals. Nestlé has scores of variations on the formula for Nescafé, to take account of regional coffee-drinking preferences from Italy to Scandinavia.

National regulations add to the complexity. French retailing, for example, is unique in Europe, because stores are prohibited from charging more for products than they show on their own invoices. Instead, retailers earn their profits by negotiating with suppliers to obtain rebates and other payments for promotional services. The money works out about the same, but the practice makes international comparisons far more complicated.

Different countries also have very different retailing systems, some more efficient than others. High-volume hypermarkets have a strong presence in France and Spain, but

Germany has a high proportion of smaller specialty stores.

On top of all this are logistical rigidities that are the modern tracings of hundreds or thousands of years of national divisions on the Continent. "Carrefour can't just say, 'Well, I'll buy all my Coke from Spain because it's cheaper,'" Mr. de Meaux said. "If you need to supply 130 stores in France, you can't change all your suppliers every time someone offers a lower price."

A Maze of Cyberprices

Price comparisons can even be difficult on the Internet, where national borders can be jumped with a few clicks of the mouse.

Consider the experience of Dell Computer, which now sells about \$2 million worth of personal computer equipment a day in western Europe over the World Wide Web.

"We were in a chicken-and-egg situation," said Jan Gesmar-Larsen, president of Dell's subsidiary for Europe, the Mideast and Africa. "We have been using the Web to push all our sales. But as you go on the Net, it's very easy to call up pages country by country. It's very easy for a skilled customer to make comparisons between pricing."

Mr. Larsen said Dell could not hope to charge different national prices when it began marketing over the Web in 1996. But even though prices were equalized, consumers were nudged in different directions

by means of separate home pages for almost every country, in its own language.

As a result, comparing prices is anything but simple. Customers who log onto the German page find that the baseline home computer is a modest machine that costs about 2,895 marks, or \$1,754. The prices and complexity go up from there. Those who log onto the Spanish page are led to an entirely different series of computers. This list starts with a model that sells at 347,000 pesetas, or \$2,443, and from there the prices and complexity go down — ultimately below the cheapest German packages.

Those differences are a reflection of very different markets. German consumers remain among the wealthiest in Europe, yet they are used to price wars on computers and are anxious about the economy's slow growth. Spanish consumers are much poorer, on average, but economic growth is booming and businesses are spending heavily on equipment of all types.

Dell says that its pricing policies are reasonable and that the euro will be good for business. "We think what it will do is encourage more visibility on prices, and that will encourage people to go to our Web site," said James Reed, the company's director of European programs. "We look on this as an opportunity and not a risk."

Round Up or Round Down?

The advent of the new currency is forcing merchants and their suppliers to battle over some of the hoariest traditions of pricing.

As in the United States, European stores try to make products look cheaper by posting prices just below a round number — for example, selling shoes in Germany for 99.99 marks instead of 100.

But in euros, that price would be more like 51.51. And that raises the question of whether to round the euro price up (to 51.99) or down (to 50.99). Collectively, such choices will add up to billions of euros that will be borne either by consumers or someone else along the supply chain.

Political leaders have already begun warning stores not to make consumers pay by rounding such prices up, and most experts don't think consumers would accept the increases, anyhow. But suppliers and retailers do not want to absorb price declines, and neither is ceding much ground.

"Retailers already have enough clout to make their views prevail," said Mr. Gossens of Braun, echoing a widespread fear among consumer-goods companies. "It will be tough."

Particularly so, because the euro arrives at a time when European prices are already under downward pressure.

Across the Continent, inflation is below 2 percent a year; it has nearly evaporated in Germany, where prices rose just seven-tenths of a percent over the last year. Thanks to fallout from financial crises in Asia and Russia, many European exports are actually declining in price. Though Germany's economy grew about 3 percent in 1998, the Association of German Retailers estimates that retail sales declined slightly in real terms, according to its spokesman, Hubertus Pellengahr.

"It's just not possible to raise prices in this environment," he said.

1998 Was a Year of Splendor, Plunder and Exuberance

By GRETCHEN MORGENSON

SIMPLY living through 1998 proved quite a learning experience for many investors.

People who had previously been acquainted only with a bull market in stocks finally looked a bear market in the eye. And those who never paid much attention to the bond market learned in late summer that when its mysterious wheels grind to a halt, a full-blown credit crisis can result.

Investors also found out why big, risky investment pools are called hedge funds — because they often get clipped.

What better time than the end of a momentous market year to reflect on its players, both major and minor, and to bask in its priceless moments.

PARTY ANIMAL OF THE YEAR AWARD To Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve and everybody's favorite master of the punch bowl. Who knew that the man who cautioned investors about irrational exuberance in the stock market in 1996 would work so hard 3,000 Dow points later to keep the party going? Mr. Greenspan's three successive interest-rate cuts last fall and explosive increases in the money supply meant that investors partied hearty late in 1998.

AMABLE DUNCE AWARD To William H. Gates, chairman of the Microsoft Corporation. Before his taped depositions in the Justice Department's antitrust suit against Microsoft, most people assumed that the world's richest man had to be a genius.

But in his testimony Mr. Gates displayed an impressive ignorance about such business basics as market share, and he could not explain

what he meant when he wrote an E-mail to top aides saying, "Winning Internet browser market share is a very, very important goal for us."

And how smart is it to underestimate the determination of the Federal Government in full pursuit? According to a witness in the trial, Mr. Gates predicted back in 1995 that "this antitrust thing will blow over."

KNEADING OUT THE KINKS AWARD To Walter A. Forbes, former chairman of the Candent Corporation. Mr. Forbes was chief of CUC International, a membership services company that merged with the franchiser HFS to create Candent in 1997. After the merger, auditors found that CUC's numbers had been massaged to create profits that, on second look, were losses instead.

Candent has since restated three years of results. In 1997, for example, the company turned in a \$217 million loss, not the \$55.5 million profit it had initially reported. Mr. Forbes left with a \$35 million severance package, saying he had "absolutely no knowledge" of the accounting problems.

WHAT WAS HE THINKING AWARD To Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Bear Stearns Companies. In September, Mr. Greenspan, who is known as Ace, sent a \$10,000 check to the Police Athletic League, a charity whose chairman is Robert M. Morgenthau, the District Attorney of Manhattan. A simple case of generosity? Maybe. But Mr. Morgenthau's office also happens to be deep in an investigation of the possible role of the Bear Stearns Clearing Corporation as clearing firm for the defunct brokerage A.R. Baron, described by prosecutors as a criminal enterprise that stole \$75 million from investors. The check was returned.

ROUND WHEEL AWARD To Albert J. Dunlap, pushed from his post as chairman of the Sunbeam Corporation in June. Mr. Dunlap, known for axing thousands of jobs to keep his company's stock price high, learned that what goes around sometimes comes around.

Under Mr. Dunlap, author of "Mean Business: How I Saved Bad Companies and Made Good Companies Great," the company was found to have overstated Sunbeam's earnings in 1997 by 65 percent, largely by selling barbecue grills to retailers in December and agreeing to defer billing on the goods until the following summer.

While almost nobody felt sorry for Mr. Dunlap, Sunbeam shareholders were to be pitied indeed. The company's stock, which traded as high as \$53 in March, was still skimming around at \$5.625 six months after Mr. Dunlap left.

DEPENDS HOW YOU DEFINE "ONE TIME" AWARD To the management of Kellogg Inc., the cereal giant in Battle Creek, Mich. For the fourth time in four years, the company took a "one-time" restructuring charge to earnings in 1998 for "streamlining operations." The charges this year came to \$22 million. The total charged to earnings over the four years of one-time charges: \$764 million, equivalent to one-quarter of Kellogg's net income during the period.

TIMING IS EVERYTHING AWARD To the top executives of the Candent Corporation. In October, after Candent stock had lost two-thirds of its value, falling to a low of \$7.50, (see Kneading award above), executives cut the exercise price on 26.3 million stock options to \$9.81. Previously, the options had prices between \$12.26 and \$20.

The stock has since recovered, giving the executives an enormous windfall but leaving public shareholders wondering: Where are our repriced shares?

CHIEF EXECUTIVE AS OSTRICH AWARD To Jill Barad, chairman of Mattel Inc. In a Dec. 14 conference call to analysts, she told of a shocking 30 percent decline in earnings per share at the company and a 12 percent drop in sales of Barbie merchandise. After a great Thanksgiving, Mr. Barad explained, retail reporters "came to a screeching halt." Never mind that throughout the year, press reports had noted weaknesses in the Barbie business that Ms. Barad had steadfastly denied. The stock fell 27 percent on her wake-up call.

PREDICTIONS ARE DANGEROUS AWARD To the management of Starwood Hotels and Resorts. On Nov. 11, 1997, with Starwood shares trading at \$55.25, the company ran a full-page newspaper ad listing the 12-month projections from 10 Wall Street analysts for Starwood's stock price. Ever optimistic, the analysts reckoned that Starwood shares would trade between \$75 and \$83. Twelve months later, the stock was just over \$27. Oh, well. Who will remember?

LET THEM EAT CAKE AWARD To Charles Wang, chairman of Computer Associates. Last May, he received 12.15 million free shares of stock in the company — worth \$670 million — after the shares rose to \$53.33 and stayed there for 60 trading days. The grant was a reward for three years of Mr. Wang's labor.

Unfortunately for Computer Associates' other shareholders, two months after the chairman bagged his prize, the company announced a \$675 million charge to earnings to cover the stock award to Mr. Wang.

among other things. It also warned that revenues and profits would probably slow for several quarters, thanks to slack demand from Asia. The shares slid almost 31 percent in response to the news.

UNDUE DILIGENCE AWARD To Goldman Sachs. The investment bank reaped millions in underwriting fees on two Russian bond deals peddled to customers last June and July. Not long after the ink on the \$7.65 billion in bonds was dry, Russia's banking system collapsed, making the bonds worthless. The firm earned \$56 million on the July deal alone.

BACK-OF-THE-ENVELOPE RESEARCH AWARD To Henry M. Blodgett, Internet stock analyst at Oppenheimer & Company. On Dec. 16, Mr. Blodgett raised his year-end 1999 price target for Amazon.com from \$150 a share to \$400. That would give the Internet darling a market capitalization of \$21 billion — one-third the value of all books sold in the world at retail last year.

Mr. Blodgett told Bloomberg News that he raised his price target because Amazon.com had blown through the one he had set earlier. The day Mr. Blodgett made his optimistic public to the investing masses, Amazon shares jumped 17 percent, to \$289. A week later, the stock was at \$325. Could a \$500 price target be far behind?

IT'S NOT ROCKET SCIENCE AWARD To number crunchers at the United States Treasury. Earlier this month, the Treasury revealed that miscalculations meant it had paid Social Security and other trust funds \$1.4 billion in extra interest since 1980.

YEAR'S BEST TRADE AWARD To the risk management committee of Switzerland's UBS A.G., the world's

second-largest bank. UBS wanted so desperately to invest in the Long-Term Capital Management hedge fund that it made personal loans to the fund's partners and bought an \$800 million stake in Long-Term Capital as part of a complex derivative transaction.

When the teetering hedge fund had to be rescued by a consortium of Wall Street banks and brokerage firms in September, UBS wound up writing off its investment, losing \$700 million in the process. The bank's chairman, Mathis Caballavetta, and three other top executives resigned over the disaster.

A SOW'S EAR IS A SOW'S EAR AWARD To executives of the Zapata Corporation, a fish oil and meat-casing company in Houston. Hoping to breathe a little life into the company's stock, Zapata management announced plans in July to become "one of the largest Internet companies in the world." How? By buying or investing in enough World Wide Web sites so that it could compete with established search engines like Yahoo and Excite.

Investors snapped up Zapata shares on the news, pushing the formerly comatose stock from around \$10 to almost \$23. Alas, the Internet plans fizzled, the company returned to fish oil and the stock fell back to earth — until the company announced last week that its Internet onslaught was back on track.

PATIENCE IS ITS OWN REWARD AWARD To individual investors. Those who hung tight through the summer's market meltdown — while professional money managers panicked — proved that every once in a while, amateurs can beat the pros at their own game.

The New York Times

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A New Year for Campaign Reform

In this holiday season, Americans are feeling anything but festive about their politics. But the raging debate over President Clinton is only one factor in the public's growing alienation from a system more attuned to partisan tactics than the general good. A separate blow to public faith has arisen recently, with the virtual nullification of nearly a century of laws seeking to curb campaign fund-raising. Last summer, the House passed campaign finance reform legislation, only to see it die in the Senate. As a result, the nation's two biggest political parties have completed their transformation from representing popular constituencies to serving as fund-raising machines that cater to special interests.

In the election last November, voter turnout dropped to the lowest levels since World War II. But in the next year, Americans will have a new opportunity to rescue their political culture from the grip of corruption and cynicism. They can press Congress to restore the fund-raising rules guiding campaigns since 1907, when the ban on corporate donations to Federal elections was enacted. In 1947, union donations were outlawed. In 1974, after the Watergate scandals, strict ceilings were placed on donations by rich individuals and political-action committees, or PACs. Now these laws have all been circumvented by the deviously conceived fiction that the parties can raise so-called "soft money" outside Federal regulations, as long as it is ostensibly for the parties, not for candidates, and as long as the money is used for "issue ads" that do not use the magic words "vote for" or "vote against."

The soft-money loophole was first seriously exploited in the 1988 campaign. By 1996, Mr. Clinton and his Republican rival, Bob Dole, elevated it to a high art. The two parties combined raised and spent \$260 million in soft money that year, and the White House opened its doors to Lincoln Bedroom sleepovers, coffees and other receptions for eager donors. Mr. Clinton could say that these unlimited sums from corporations, rich donors and unions were going to the party and therefore were legal. But the contributors all knew they were buying influence with the Clinton Administration.

The scariest aspect of the White House fund-raising was the willingness to have the soft-money loophole exploited by foreign interests. Some \$3 million in contributions had to be returned by the Democrats because it was found to have originated overseas. This month, The Times reported that investigators had found a systematic effort by China to gain access to technology and perhaps influence American policies — just as Taiwan and other governments have done, by opening their checkbooks to lobbyists and other agents — though no link to the party contributions was established. In October, a Federal district judge ruled that the ban on foreign campaign donations did not apply to soft money. If that ruling stands, or Congress does not quickly revise the statute to broaden the ban on foreign contributions, the soft-money loophole guarantees more attempts by foreign and domestic interests to corrupt the system.

Not that the Republicans were blameless. They deplored Mr. Clinton's excesses, but the 1997 Senate hearings led by Fred Thompson demonstrated that the Republicans also tapped foreign money in 1996. The Republicans engaged in their own domestic money abuses as well. In return for six-figure donations, a Republican soft-money contributor could get meetings with Republican Congressional leaders and committee chairmen. They apparently got the results they wanted. Money from oil, gas and mining interests led to Republican attempts to open up wilderness areas to exploitation and ease laws on clean air and clean water. In 1997, Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, flew to Las Vegas with his

chief fund-raiser, Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, to harvest money from gambling interests. This year the Senate killed efforts to eliminate certain tax breaks for big-time gamblers.

Tobacco is another industry for which money talks. Mr. McConnell has been especially adept at harvesting tobacco money and then killing any chance of tough legislation that would crack down on tobacco products. But there has been a bipartisan cast to the special-interest game. Republicans and Democrats alike favor "privatizing" at least a part of Social Security to create independent investment accounts, offering a bonanza for the financial-services industry, which would invest the pension money. That industry just happens to be the biggest donor to both parties.

There was a chance this year that these corrupt schemes would be ended by administrative action. But in an unforgivable dereliction of duty, Attorney General Janet Reno failed to pursue the clear violation of the letter and spirit of the campaign laws. Both Louis Freeh, the F.B.I. director, and her own handpicked investigator into the election scandals, Charles La Bella, recommended an independent counsel to investigate the subject. She refused. In a parallel step, the staff of the Federal Election Commission, a semi-autonomous regulatory body, determined that the fund-raising by both Mr. Dole and Mr. Clinton violated the law. But the six members of the commission, Congressional appointees beholden to the party power structures, rejected the staff conclusions earlier this month.

The paradox is that clear majorities in both the Senate and House favor campaign reform. Last summer, the House approved legislation sponsored by Christopher Shays of Connecticut and Martin Meehan of Massachusetts to curb fund-raising excesses, by a vote of 252 to 179. The Shays-Meehan bill would have banned soft money and applied all existing Federal restrictions to party fund-raising and fund-raising by so-called independent groups when the money is used for campaign-related attack ads broadcast two months before an election. The new House will need to pass it again quickly when it convenes in January. Dennis Hastert, the Republicans' apparent choice for Speaker, cannot afford to repeat Newt Gingrich's tactics last summer of trying to bottle up the bill in committee and then trying to strangle it with killer amendments on the floor. The Congress should also replace the lame Federal Election Commission with a serious enforcement agency.

Another outrageous filibuster is sure to be mounted in the Senate by Mr. Lott, Mr. McConnell and other soft-money addicts. But this time, the majority of senators favoring reform ought to have enough time to press for the 60 votes necessary to demand a vote. The Senate sponsors of reform, John McCain of Arizona and Russell Feingold of Wisconsin, have both pledged to push again next year.

Many ailments, large and small, afflict the American political system right now. No one is pretending that campaign finance reform, by itself, will cure corruption or ease the voters' cynicism. These are not revolutionary changes. What is needed is a restoration of a system that has existed for most of modern American history. If the current system is not changed, the candidates will likely raise and spend between \$500 million and \$750 million in unlimited soft-money donations from corporations, unions and rich donors in the next two years. Whoever is elected, the legislative and executive branches of Government will be more and more beholden to the forces that give the money. That corruption cannot be allowed. Reform can happen, if the voters demand it and lawmakers hear their plea.

No Illusions About Iraq

If Saddam Hussein were not such a recidivist, it might be possible to fashion a less confrontational approach to restrain Iraq and prevent it from producing and using weapons of mass destruction. Pressure to ease up is building on the Security Council in the wake of the American and British air strikes this month. But the dangers of relaxing the international grip on Iraq are too great to consider the kinds of changes proposed by France and Russia, including a lifting of economic sanctions.

Unhappily, there is no ideal Iraq policy at this point. The air attacks were a crude though necessary instrument for controlling Baghdad's weapons once it became clear on-site inspections were no longer effective. But without further outside intervention, Iraq should be able to rebuild weapons and missile plants within a year. If inspectors are unable to resume work, future military attacks may be required to diminish the arsenal again.

A purely diplomatic solution would be preferable, but no one has devised a workable plan for dealing with a dictatorial regime in Baghdad bent on terrorizing its neighbors as well as its own citizens. It is hard to negotiate with a tyrant who has no intention of honoring his commitments and who sees nuclear, chemical and biological weapons as his country's salvation.

The French Foreign Minister, Hubert Védrine, proposes to deal with Saddam Hussein by reward-

ing his belligerence. Mr. Védrine would dismantle the present United Nations inspection program and replace it with one more acceptable to Iraq's friends on the Security Council, then lift the embargo on Iraqi oil sales. Firing Richard Butler, the chief weapons inspector, and allowing Iraq to replenish its treasury with billions of dollars in oil revenue, sounds more like a strategy for winning France new business opportunities in Iraq than for restraining Mr. Hussein. Russia would also like to see the Security Council lighten sanctions.

Any approach to Iraq that depends on Security Council unity is destined to be weak. While France seeks trade, Russia hopes to collect money it is owed from arms sales to Baghdad a decade ago. China is indifferent to Iraqi threats. The United States and Britain may soon be left with no choice but to veto a move to reduce or lift sanctions, with the prospect of enforcing an unpopular oil embargo.

The Clinton Administration should not paper over the difficulties ahead by talking casually about finding new leaders for Iraq. The problem of Saddam Hussein is not likely to be fixed by giving millions of dollars to disorganized and divided Iraqi opposition groups or beaming uncensored radio broadcasts into Iraq. There is no painless way to deal with Iraq. If there were, Mr. Hussein would not have managed to remain in power for 19 years of brutal rule.

Octuplets: Miracle or Hubris?

To the Editor:

Re "Too Much of a Good Thing" (editorial, Dec. 23): I am the father of triplets conceived in 1986 with the help of a mild fertility drug. My wife and I were told by our doctor that use of the drug would not result in multiple births.

My children are lovely, and I adore them, but no one should underestimate the emotional stress, hard work and financial difficulties that even triplets represent. No one should believe that the Government or corporations will help out with the physical and financial burdens of multiple births.

In reality, social services and fiscal policy have not waked up to the problem of multiple births. And the news programs do not show the havoc that multiple births play in a family for many years. For them, multiple births are happy news, not the horror stories that to a large extent they are.

PAUL JONES
Deep River, Canada, Dec. 23, 1998

To the Editor:

A Dec. 23 editorial suggests that multiple births are a mixed blessing and that only those couples who agree to selective reduction should be given aggressive fertility drug treatment. I agree.

While hopeful couples are willing to use science to get pregnant, many then cite "God's will" in refusing selective reduction to insure the health of the multiple fetuses. To me, that is an untenable position.

Moreover, a slippery slope is forming: as medical technology is perfected, how far away are we from the 10- or 12-birth "miracle" — and at what price?

LORRAINE ROWSO
West Point, N.Y., Dec. 23, 1998

To the Editor:

The birth of octuplets to a Houston couple elucidates a dangerous and all-too-common hypocrisy in the argument against abortion (editorial, Dec. 23).

Those in the anti-abortion camp rail against what they call an unnatural intervention of man against God's will. They call abortion murder. However, when it comes to unnaturally creating life where none would have existed through the use of powerful fertility drugs, they call it a miracle.

Multiple-birth parents often hide behind their religious convictions to justify these pregnancies, no matter what the cost to society. Legislation should be passed to limit the number of births by women taking fertility treatments.

RODERICK SMITH
Boston, Dec. 23, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "Too Much of a Good Thing" (editorial, Dec. 23): Although the short- and long-term prognosis for the survival and health of the octuplets is guarded, it is certain that the costs associated with the obstetrical and pediatric medical care for these babies will be millions of dollars.

Had Nkem Chukwu, the mother of the octuplets, been treated with in-vitro fertilization instead of fertility drugs, a high-order multiple birth could have been prevented. It is likely, however, that Ms. Chukwu's insurance did not cover in-vitro fertilization.

Because in-vitro fertilization limits the number of embryos replaced at one time, the procedure leads to the birth of healthier children and allows infertile couples to build their families in the most normal way possible.

DANIEL KENIGSBURG, M.D.
Port Jefferson, N.Y., Dec. 23, 1998
The writer is a reproductive endocrinologist.

To the Editor:

Re "As Octuplets Remain in Peril, Ethics Questions Are Raised" (front page, Dec. 23): Although I have been privileged enough to bear a child, I too, have felt the pangs of wanting a baby. I have also held the hand of a

dear friend who was told she could not conceive.

If things had been different, and I had been unable to conceive a child in my own womb, I would not have considered using fertility drugs. With so many children in the world without good homes and families to love them, adoption is a practical and loving alternative. Sure, the child would not be my own, but haven't we been teaching each other all along that the bonds are just as strong?

To get down to it requires some brutal truth: Not everyone can have everything he or she wants, and that includes children.

ABIGAIL MOUAT
Gainesville, Fla., Dec. 23, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "Too Much of a Good Thing" (editorial, Dec. 23): By precisely controlling the number of embryos transferred back to the uterus, in-vitro fertilization solves the problem of high-order multiple births resulting from the use of powerful fertility drugs. But many insurance companies refuse to cover the procedure, even when they cover other treatments that use fertility drugs.

Extra embryos can be frozen, and later, if another child is desired, thawed and transferred, a procedure that costs substantially less than a single cycle of injectable fertility drugs. That, and the higher success



rate of in-vitro fertilization as compared with less advanced methods, significantly ameliorates the higher initial cost of egg extraction and fertilization. Several states mandate coverage of in-vitro fertilization; all should.

EDWARD B. HORCH
Bridgewater, N.J., Dec. 23, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "Too Much of a Good Thing" (editorial, Dec. 23): The birth of octuplets is a travesty of nature — egotistical technology gone berserk. It is impossible for a couple to give proper care and attention to eight infants and equally impossible for those eight premature infants to develop into normal adults.

The cost, in dollar terms, of keeping these fetuses alive is probably in the millions. That money would have been more productively spent on preventative medicine. There ought to be a law!

ROBERT HANAN, M.D.
Runaway Bay, Australia
Dec. 24, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "Too Much of a Good Thing" (editorial, Dec. 23):

The octuplets' birth in Houston was hardly providence but a deliberate gamble on the part of the parents and their doctors. Who sanctioned the use of this drug-induced experiment to see how well eight fetuses would survive in a womb designed for one?

By refusing selective reduction, the parents abdicated responsibility to the will of the same god of chance that they tried to thwart with their fertility treatments. Now their children will suffer for the hubris of their parents.

MATTHEW NADLER
New York, Dec. 23, 1998

Respect for All Victims

To the Editor:

As a Jewish woman and a survivor of Auschwitz, I am deeply disturbed by the feud over the crosses there ("A Debate Over Honoring Poland's Jews," letters, Dec. 23).

Just because the Nazis preferred to incinerate more Jews than Roman Catholic Poles does not mean that Polish non-Jewish victims do not deserve a cross of remembrance and place of honor among their fellow Jewish victims.

The Polish inmates felt the icy winds of doom just as acutely as I did.

I want to, and must, attest to the fact that I was saved by Catholic fellow prisoners, at their great personal risk, in Auschwitz and again in Mauthausen, Austria.

I hope the Polish Government will not be pressured to remove these symbols of respect.

Instead of finding bridges to better understanding, such mean-spirited bickering cannot help but promote anti-Semitism.

MARIANNE SANN
New Rochelle, N.Y., Dec. 23, 1998

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Those selected may be shortened for space reasons. Fax letters to (212) 556-3622 or send by electronic mail to letters@nytimes.com, or by regular mail to Letters to the Editor, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036-3959.

Charity for Nicaragua

To the Editor:

Bob Herbert ("Under the Volcano," column, Dec. 24) certainly helps us understand the profound suffering in Nicaragua and Honduras this Christmas, and he courageously speaks of the poverty that was already present before Hurricane Mitch made a terrible condition worse.

We play a part in the problem by holding these poor in debtors' prison after playing out our cold-war dramas on their land. Debt forgiveness as called for by the World Council of Churches is the best beginning response. Debt postponement and charity are cheap Christmas guilt relievers.

JOSEPH CHECK
Chicago, Dec. 24, 1998

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Clinton Charges Test a Democracy

To the Editor:

Tom DeLay, the House Republican whip, appears to be well on his way to becoming this generation's Joseph McCarthy (front page, Dec. 24). Having led efforts to depose the President in the House, he is now making an unseemly effort to force the Senate along the same direction with unsubstantiated new charges of wrongdoing.

As the driving force behind the selection of Dennis Hastert as his apparent to the House Speaker, Mr. DeLay has directly influenced two of the top three official positions in the United States.

In the event of President Clinton's removal, only Vice President Al Gore would stand between one President toppled by Mr. DeLay and another hand-picked by him.

Mr. DeLay is testing the concept of democracy as never before. The acquiescence of Congressional Republicans to this bald display of power is unsettling.

JOHN J. MADDOX
Basking Ridge, N.J., Dec. 24, 1998

The Secret Evidence

To the Editor:

Could it be that Representative Tom DeLay has a list (front page, Dec. 24)? What evidence is secreted away in the room that is so private that senators must get special permission from the House Judiciary Committee to examine it?

Here is a man who has no sense of decency if he expects the American people to sit still for the removal from office of a twice-elected President based on evidence that has never been, and may never be, presented in public.

DAVID H. GUSTON
Somerset, N.J., Dec. 24, 1998

Try Community Service

To the Editor:

There has been much discussion regarding the penalty President Clinton should pay (news articles, Dec. 24). While impeachment seems extreme, censure seems insufficient, and a fine would simply disappear into Government coffers, offering little satisfaction to the American people. Community service, together with censure, would be direct and appropriate amends.

CAROL LOEB
Monroe, N.Y., Dec. 24, 1998

Exit Strategy

To the Editor:

The forms of censure of President Clinton that have been proposed require that he admit he committed perjury (editorial, Dec. 23).

He has refused, and will probably continue to do so despite the suggestion of two former Presidents, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter (Op-Ed, Dec. 21), that his admission not be used against him in a criminal proceeding.

There must be a way out of this impasse. A censure resolution could require that Mr. Clinton state that he did not tell "the whole truth." This should satisfy those who want the President to make a damaging admission about his veracity, but it would not subject him to possible criminal indictment after he left office.

RAYMOND J. HOROWITZ
New York, Dec. 24, 1998

Truth and Relativism

To the Editor:

Some, like Representative Tom DeLay (front page, Dec. 24), see the charges against President Clinton as a conflict of truth and relativism, but they are treading on perilous ideological ground. It is in totalitarian regimes, not democracies, that the claim of possessing absolute truth is most brazenly put forward.

Supporters of democracy do not claim that all truth is relative, but rather that no one person or group can claim a monopoly of truth. Thus, ideally, democracy becomes a marketplace of ideas, and its political institutions an arena for negotiating conflicting values and interests. The claims of democrats, of whatever party, ought to be more measured, and more modest.

F. A. FRIEDRICH
New York, Dec. 24, 1998

A Worthy Obsession

To the Editor:

Bob Herbert's assessment of the crisis in Nicaragua ("Under the Volcano," column, Dec. 24) is insightful. Imagine if the United States had obsessed about the damage in Nicaragua the way it obsessed about President Clinton's private transgressions. Tens of thousands of people might have food, clothing and shelter, and our relations with Nicaragua might have improved a hundredfold.

JOEL TURKEN
New York, Dec. 24, 1998

What Confession Proves

To the Editor:

Some people have suggested that if President Clinton had confessed to the charges against him, he might not have been impeached (news article, Dec. 23). If Mr. Clinton had been charged with treason or bribery, or for that matter, with murder or kidnapping, would anyone have suggested that an admission of guilt could tilt the vote in his favor? The demand for a purgative confession tacitly concedes that the charges against the President were not impeachable.

WILLIAM H. JOHNSON
Yonkers, Dec. 23, 1998

In America

BOB HERBERT

The Jets Are Back

Bananas were 11 cents a pound. A set of 15 Christmas tree lights was 69 cents. The New York Times was a dime.

Christmas comes every 29 or 30 years for New York Jets fans. This is one of the rare good years, a phenomenon that for the faithful is as sweet and as difficult to grasp as a winning lottery ticket. To get a sense of what it's usually like to be a Jets fan, imagine a gambler in a lifelong craps game who is destined always to roll snake eyes.

When I asked my assistant to pull the clips on the last time the Jets were champions of their division, as they are now, she had to hunt (electronically) through newspaper stacks that are older than she is.

Return with us now to Dec. 7, 1969. Vietnam was raging. Richard Nixon was wrapping up his first year as President. "Man of La Mancha" was on Broadway and you could get seats in the balcony for \$3.75.

The 1970's loomed but no one realized how different they would be from the astonishing and tumultuous 60's. And no one could possibly have known that a President would be chased from office under the threat of impeachment and another would actually be impeached before the Jets would win another championship.

The headline that day in the sports section of The Times said, "Jets Top Oilers, 34-28, and Take Title." On the same page was a story about Bill Bradley leading the Knicks to a victory over the Milwaukee Bucks.

Bradley was 26. While the Jets were wandering like sad sacks through the fields of football futility, he would complete his Hall of Fame basketball career, complete a distinguished career in the Senate and put together plans for his own possible run for the Presidency.

Jets fans during that same period were growing up, having children, and some of those children were having children. And yet most fans remained true to the woeful team that came to be known as Gang Green, a team that spent most of the 70's, 80's and 90's nurturing masters in the fine art of losing.

Why would anyone root for such a terrible team for so long?

Emerson comes to mind. He once said: "There are people who have an appetite for grief. Pleasure is not strong enough and they crave pain."

The Times's Gerald Eskenazi, in his book "Gang Green," quotes Rabbi Myron Fenster, former head of the New York Board of Rabbis. "It's

good for the soul," the rabbi said, "It teaches you about striving and redemption, although I must admit I'm waiting for the redemption a long time."

Redemption came in the form of a snarling, superstitious devil named Bill Parcells. This coach is not like anything the Jets or their fans have ever experienced. To Parcells, losing is as acceptable as self-immolation. He is not like Weeb Ewbank, a nice man who, while coaching the Jets in the Super Bowl in January 1969, forgot himself and said of the opposing quarterback, Johnny Unitas, who had once played for Ewbank: "Come on, John, don't throw any interceptions."

Will the devil make them do it?

Parcells has decreed that the foolishness will cease. He is a tyrant, a ruthless enforcer who has wrought a miraculous change in one of the worst franchises in sports. He shoves his players around and is quick to belittle people. He once sidled up to the gifted wide receiver Wayne Chrebet and deliberately kicked him in his injured ankle. He is nasty to reporters and won't let his assistant coaches talk to them.

But he knows football. He has won everywhere he's been and is winning with the Jets. Desperation can lead to odd embraces and Jets fans have embraced Parcells.

The team, which won just one of 16 games two years ago, is 11-4 this year. It can win its 12th game this afternoon, which would be the highest regular-season victory total in team history. If the Jets win two games in the playoffs they will go to the Super Bowl.

"Hope is all Jets fans have ever wanted," said Eskenazi in "Gang Green."

The longtime fans are older, wider and grayer now and giddy at the prospect of more wins to come. Instead of snake eyes, they are rolling consistent sevens and eights.

Sainthood never occasioned such glee. For the moment, it's high-fives all around. Jets fans have learned there is nothing like a pact with the devil, and year go with it until the devil demands his due.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Talk Lang Syne

WASHINGTON When it comes to New Year's Eve, I am firmly in the camp of pink champagne and black cha-cha heels.

I can't fathom the phenomenon of trekking off to resorts to attend a lot of earnest panels and hang out with all the same people we are sick of seeing on MSNBC.

In their only point of bipartisan agreement, Democrats and Republicans have conspired to ruin New Year's Eve by turning it into a tiresome gabfest. Clintonites have their annual Renaissance Weekend at Hilton Head, S.C., and conservatives aped

from the panel "Dropping Life's Baggage Can Lighten the Load?"

The conservatives at first dubbed their imitation Renaissance Weekend "The Dark Ages," when they were flying high in 1994. It was a sly dig at the Clintonites' pretension to world historical progressivism. But now Republicans call it "The Weekend, the event formerly known as Dark Ages," to disguise the uncomfortable fact that Republicans have, in fact, brought about the Dark Ages.

Toning down the G.O.P. image as an army of wing-tipped Huns, the Event Formerly Known as Dark Ages has a panel called "America's Ethnic Future, and How We Need to Address It." They'll need to address it very gingerly, given that Trent Lott and Bob Barr have both been exposed for speaking to a white supremacist group.

Neither party has updated panels in light of the astonishing events of this past year. So, it falls to others to do their work for them.

The Clintons could use that assembled brain-power to ramp up to the Senate impeachment trial. Useful preparatory panels might include:

"Nutty and Slutty: What the Sliming of Anita Hill Can Teach About the Sliming of Monica Lewinsky." Panelists: Greg Craig, David Talbot, Sidney Blumenthal.

"Ontology in the Oval Office: The Many Splendored Meanings of 'Is.'" Panelists: Bill Clinton, David Kendall and Charles Ruff.

"R-E-S-P-E-C-T: How Many Times, O Lord, Do I Have to Save His ...?" A conversation with Hillary Clinton.

"I Cheated on Him Because He Cheated on Me: Loyalty in the Clinton Years." Panelists: George Stephanopoulos, Mike McCurry and Dick Morris.

The Republicans should use their discussion time to ponder whether they really want to wreck the country and their party.

"Getting Larry Flynted: Why the Heck Is What's Good for the Goose Good for the Gander?" Panelists: Bob Livingston, Henry Hyde and Dan Burton.

"The Impossible Dream: Digging Up Dirt on Al Gore and Bill Bradley." A conversation with Lucianne Goldberg.

"The Blondes Leading the Blind: Leggy Funditry in the 21st Century." Panelists: Laura Ingraham, Ann Coulter, Kellyanne Fitzpatrick and Barbara Olson.

"The Mind of Ken Starr," moderated by Mrs. Ken Starr. (No children under 17 permitted.)

Our Moments Have All Been Seized

By Richard Ford

NEW ORLEANS: **W**hile some things are happening to my sense of the now. Maybe many of us are feeling that way. And maybe it has to do with the end of our millennium fast approaching, and the profound implication that someone else's millennium is beginning. But whatever the reason, now — by which I mean our experience of the present moment, that ever-passing, uncertain platform upon which we recognize ourselves to be alive, and appraise how life seems — that now feels under attack. Wittgenstein wrote that he who lives in the present lives in eternity. But I'm sure he didn't have in mind a present (or an eternity) like this one.

Chiefly, what I'm talking about are the ways in which that series of present moments we describe collectively as our real lives is made insignificant, made ignorable or forgettable, made hellish or made in essence nonexistent by all sorts of forces outside our brains, yet forces whose existence we may have complexity with.

Just think about some easy trivial examples: those ubiquitous television sets in airport waiting areas broadcasting programs (usually stock market reports) we don't want to see or hear; unconscionable numbers of messages in our E-mail, all demanding replies; intrusive requests for, or reports about, our opinions on issues or about other people's opinions on issues we may have no opinion about whatsoever; phone calls at the dinner hour on the subject of platinum cards we don't own and don't want. And, of course, much more.

Yes, you can say these are just insignificant annoyances and I'm peevish, and the velocity of life and change has increased — that ideas like dollars must flow freely, that the more exchange we have with the unknown the less we fear it, and that life feels full — just the way we always hoped it would.

But in an ominous way, these interruptions represent a turf battle over who's going to say what I have on my mind at any present moment — now, in other words. And this battle seems to contain moral consequence lasting far beyond the moment or the individual interruption. Indeed, at the heart of the contest is an axiological paradox whereby the higher valuation placed on my immediate attention by others — vendors, let's call them — is accompanied by or perhaps even causes a lower valuation to be placed on it by me, who's after all losing these moments and having to recollect their loss. It's as though I had nows to burn. Except I don't.

Yet here is an example of a different kind, albeit toward the same point. Last winter in a course I taught on magazine writing, class discussion at one point leaked onto the topic of the

President's then putative liaison with Monica Lewinsky. (This was months before the grand jury divulgence.) Who, I asked the students, thought the President had engaged with Ms. Lewinsky in a sexual act? Many hands went promptly up. Who, I then asked, thought no sexual acts had occurred? The remainder of the hands rose. But who, I asked, held no opinion? No hands stirred. No one had no opinion.

When, however, I pointed out that no one actually knew what the President had or hadn't done, and that the issue was a matter of fact and that therefore their opinions were, strictly speaking, worthless, and then won-

There are moral consequences to our speeded-up lives.

dered aloud why it was even interesting to have such an opinion, most of the students said they felt it was their "right." Indeed it was their need and obligation to hold an opinion, and that it was wishy-washy and weak-minded to say you didn't know. Even if you really didn't know.

I was shocked. It always surprises me when thinking humans speculate about hard, demonstrable facts: as if their own ignorance conferred a contagious uncertainty upon the truth. But later I came to think that for my journalism students and maybe for many of us, professing an opinion is not evidence of a deliberate choice bearing upon being right or wrong, nor a moral positioning that even much looks to the outcome of whatever's at issue.

Rather it is merely a spasmodic way to intensify a passing moment — a now — by making an act one performs seem to matter when in fact it doesn't. In this way it is ethically tantamount to — though much less potentially valuable than — buying a lottery ticket. And instead of intensifying a moment, such hasty, feckless opinion-spouting trivializes it. In this case, a now has not been stolen, but wasted and devalued.

It's pretty to think that in the old days — those prior, better times we unfortunately couldn't be around for — things got done better: that even though ing, moments were treated with more care; that when our predecessors, in their less velocitous lives, took a position to arrive, as if it mattered to them and to the subject if they were right or wrong — as if facts had consequence. Probably I'm wrong about that time. Though recently I noticed in the prelude to the House Judiciary Com-

mittee's impeachment vote, those undecided members were widely referred to in the press as "mavericks," an old-fashioned term, which I guess currently means those rare people who buck convention by awaiting clarity, doing their own thinking, and who use the present moment to assure that their judgment about the consequential future is as correct as possible. I can't help thinking that it's a perplexed age when for so many people it's better to risk being wrong in the present than to wait for a chance to be right.

Goodness knows, this feeling of confusion about our nows is not just a result of time's seeming to pass at greater speeds, although the particulars of that fast pace certainly do affect our ability to estimate how we're getting along in life — bullying us on to whatever's next, leaving our precious moments insufficiently seized and acknowledged, while making life feel hectic.

Everyone, after all, is gaudily making more money than we are. (Just look up at the TV monitor in the Northwest lounge.) Our new PC is already bested by another one just six months after we bought it (contributing to bad dreams of lost productivity). Charles Schwab's getting three hundred thousand calls a day. Internet traffic's doubling every one hundred days. Our amiable curiosity to know how our fellow Americans are thinking about this or that subject is being seduced by organized, high-priced media "carpet-bombing" designed to stifle, not foster, the free flow of ideas. And already someone, somebody has almost certainly cloned a human being by using technology that didn't exist when we bought our new PC.

This feeling of swarming time naturally pushes us toward a keener awareness of death (usually not that pleasurable), at the same time that it causes us to feel left behind, back in the wake of greater opportunity and expectation. A sturdier sense of the moment as being something besides limbo could help us. Proust wrote that the rich taste of a *madeleine* made death seem to have no meaning for him. A magic cookie. That would be good.

Of course, I'd be happy to think that reading a novel or a short story or even a poem could help in this cause — a novel I wrote, or one that Proust did; that a story could pacify that sense of the "indigenous American berserk." Philip Roth wrote about it in his novel "American Pastoral," and by writing about it sought to calm it.

Novels and stories can also give double service to one's sense of the now. They often imagine a persuasive fictive present within the book, a present upon which most all the action impends and where meaning and clarity can become apparent. And, while this is happening, they slow the reader's pace and make him self-conscious so that his now is made vivid and of worth. In addition, novels are often all about these very important issues I'm arguing we've lost our good grip on; measuring cause and effect from a recognizable place in

time; calculating the results of history; noticing how events of the moment can prefigure events still to come; recognizing our very selves and appraising how we are.

Frankly, I doubt if it'll happen. I doubt people are going to read more novels, particularly the kind I just mentioned. This swarming sense of urgency, anxiety and possibility pose too great a force. Intelligence just means information now. And, anyway, there isn't time. In 50 years, I'd be surprised if many people are even writing novels, or publishing them inside of covers. My best hope is that whoever's in charge then has figured out something better than what we have today. Nobody wants to be on record as resisting progress. Right?

A palpable fear, though, underlying our anxiety about over-prizing and undervaluing our present is that in this high-velocity atmosphere we'll suffer vital qualities of our character to become obsolete: our capacity to deliberate, to be patient, to forgive, to remain, to observe, to empathize, to gauge cause and effect, to ignore death in respect for life; in sum, to recognize good in all its complicated, unexpected forms. We fear we'll have no use for these qualities in a world where fully functioning citizenship seems chiefly to require access to the Internet.

People who know a lot about technology would like to console us with their faith that it's neutral, that tools won't change human nature. But how do they know? And what if they're wrong? Or right? What is human nature, anyway, and why do we think it's so well settled in us that we can't lose it up by taking it for granted? Can you clone it, too? Are you sure?

Put simply, the pace of life feels morally dangerous to me. And what I wish for is not to stop or even to slow it, but to be able to experience my lived days as valuable days. We all just want to keep our heads above the waves, find someplace to stand. If anything, that's our human nature.

Me, I'll admit it. I don't have E-mail. I'm not on the Internet. I don't have a cell phone or call waiting or even a beeper. And I'm not proud of it, since my fear, I guess, is that if someone wants to find me using all or any of these means, but can't find me, whoever's looking will just conclude that for technical reasons I don't exist anymore.

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks. For further information, call (212) 556-1831.

Monday,
December 28, 1998

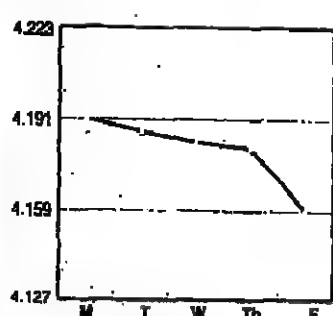
BUSINESS & FINANCE

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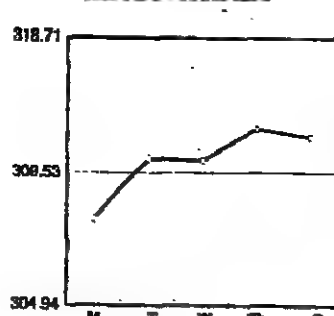
MARKETS

in brief

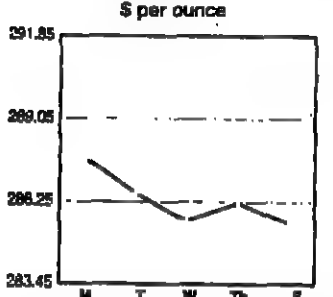
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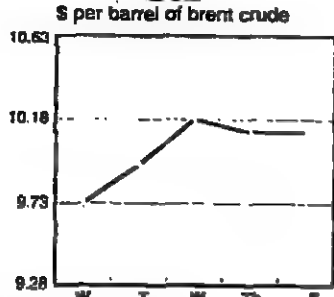
MAOF INDEX



GOLD



OIL



Central bank to announce rates today

The Bank of Israel will this afternoon announce its key lending rate for January. Economists are predicting there will be no change on the 13.5 percent December rate. They are citing political and economic uncertainty as the main factors that will affect central bank Governor Jacob Frenkel's decision. *David Zev Harris*

Givot Olam raises only NIS 2.9m.

Oil exploration company Givot Olam yesterday announced that it has raised NIS 2.9 million by offering stocks on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. The company, which wanted to raise as much as NIS 16.8m., said in the past that if it fails to raise the whole amount on the bourse it will try to get money from investors overseas. Givot Olam intends to use the capital for carrying out drilling at the Megeed-3 site near Rosh Ha'ayin. *Dan Gerstenfeld*

Tourists spend 5% fewer nights in hotels

The overall number of tourist nights in Israeli hotels increased 3 percent to 15.5 million during the first 11 months of the year, compared to the equivalent period last year, the Central Bureau of Statistics announced yesterday. However, the number of nights foreigners spend in hotels fell 5% to 7.2 million. *David Zev Harris*

Neeman blasts election economics

By JESSICA STEINBERG

MKs should "repent" for inefficiently spending public funds, former finance minister Yaakov Neeman said yesterday during a farewell party at the Treasury.

Warning against election economics, Neeman called on MKs to be more responsible in their treatment of the national coffers. The budget "isn't about coalitions or oppositions but looking out for the best interests of Israel's citizens," he said.

MK Avraham Shohat (Labor), however, dismissed that analysis, saying that lumping

all MKs together is impractical. Where there is a strong coalition, budget matters can be resolved quickly, he said.

To demonstrate his argument, Neeman recalled Knesset Finance Committee chairman Avraham Ravitz (United Torah Judaism) who "honestly" said about the 1999 budget: "I also want my piece of flesh."

Ravitz said that while MKs fight for their share of the budget, that doesn't mean "messages for all redheads."

Ravitz conceded that the '99 budget will undergo "some rethinking," from funding for development towns to public sector

wages, but said that such revisions wouldn't constitute election economics.

Analysts, however, believe that election economics, including wage raises, tax cuts, and increased infrastructure spending, are around the corner, while the lack of a full-time finance minister will exacerbate the situation.

"You have a budget that goes through all the correct channels, but there's no framework and the field is wide open for [Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu to do as he sees fit," said Gil Bufman, general manager at macroeconomic consulting firm Tishray Co.

Given that situation, new roads will be approved and settlements could get more funding, creating a situation that won't promote growth in the long term, he said.

However, the economy could still grow, said Bank Leumi's chief economist, Gad Shifron, if the 1999 budget generates more generous wage packages, which would in turn accelerate public spending.

If the budget doesn't pass, "it's tough to know what's allowed and what's not," Shifron said, adding that such a situation might accelerate the dynamics of election economics.

Levin C'tee
central bank
blueprint
due today

By DAVID ZEV HARRIS

The Levin Committee report on the reform of the Bank of Israel will be presented to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu this afternoon. It then will be published.

The panel has spent months considering proposals from a wide range of vested interests in both the public and private sectors.

The committee is expected to announce that it favors the creation of monetary council — a move supported by the central bank, Treasury, Prime Minister's Office, and many MKs and business.

The recommendations are also likely to include the need for the rewriting of the Bank of Israel Law and turning it into a basic law. The committee is also expected to call for a rethinking of the aims of and instruments available

to the bank.

In recent weeks, there has been increasing pressure within the Knesset for the creation of a board of governors, which would remove full control over monetary decisions from the present bank governor.

Labor's senior economics spokesman, Avraham Shohat, with support from a host of MKs, including coalition whip Meir Sheerit, is attempting to introduce legislation which would create a board of governors. However, central bank officials have criticized the bill because it does not set out the basic rationale for the bank's existence nor its modus operandi.

Bank officials yesterday repeated that their proposals tackle all the fundamentals of the bank and that they believe the monetary board should be established only after the other parameters are agreed upon.



New banknotes

This new NIS 20 note, along with a new NIS 100 note, will go into circulation next week. The Bank of Israel will begin circulating new NIS 50 and NIS 200 bills later next year. The old notes will remain valid for 18 months and cease to be legal tender on July 1, 2000. *(Brian Hendler)*

Feni Foods: Sales to reach NIS 28m. after six years

Germany seeks
tax harmony

After two years of eating Israeli cheese, new immigrant Nick Choleva decided that the only way to make life bearable was to import it from his native Denmark.

Four years on, Choleva's dislike of local dairy products has been translated into an increasingly successful company, Feni Foods, which imports between 168 to 180 tons of white mould cheese (his most popular product) a year, sells its products on supermarket shelves across Israel and should see sales of about NIS 28 million by the close of 1998.

Choleva, 37, arrived in Israel with his wife and three children in 1992 and began work in the high-tech arena as a marketing manager for a computer network specialist. He moved on a year later but after this company went bankrupt decided it was time to open his own business.

The food industry was a natural choice. "I had a weakness for food-stuffs," says Choleva, nibbling on a chocolate from a dish on the table. "I liked living in Israel but I was missing many things. The quality of foodstuffs being processed in Israel is very low. There are nice vegetables and chicken but as soon as they do something to it here it becomes tasteless. I've given up drinking milk here because it's so horrible

and when I tasted the hard cheese I didn't know what it was: I thought it was made out of soy." He started the business in August 1994 with an order for about NIS 1.6 million worth of cheeses, salmon products and marinated foods — all kosher — from Super-Sol. With no money behind him, Choleva used a letter of credit from Super-Sol which he gave to his overseas suppliers.

"When you don't have lots of money in your bank account you need someone to back you," says Choleva.

Over the next two years the company expanded its business, bringing in more products such as Danish blue, Camembert, Emmenthal, Lurpak butter and several goats cheeses.

In 1995 company turnover reached NIS 7 million, the following year it rose to NIS 13 m.

In February 1997 Feni Foods held a Scandinavian festival at Super-Sol super markets. It was a large task for such a small company and Choleva feared that his company would not be able to digest all the orders. The result was a partnership agreement with Willi Food, a canned food company. The partnership was not, however, a success and it ended soon after the festival.

In November Super-Sol held a French festival and asked Choleva

to be involved.

"It was tremendously successful," says Choleva.

Feni Foods focused on French cheeses and three months later was still receiving orders for the products. "French dairy is quite advanced and it's a strong part of the French food industry. It's very popular here." At the end of 1997 the company's revenues had virtually doubled to NIS 22 million.

In May 1998 Feni Foods signed an exclusive distribution agreement with French company, Besnier, which is the biggest dairy conglomerate in the world. It began importing Besnier products such as Emmenthal slices and Camembert a few months ago.

Inevitably Feni Foods has competition, but it is the only company that currently imports Danish cheese and fish products. Choleva says it is not, however, his rivals that bother him. What really disturbs him are the high tariffs on imported dairy products.

Today, tariffs on dairy products are between 50 to 100 percent of the original cost. Tariffs on butter are an astounding 148 percent. "People don't understand: We aren't being greedy. It's the government that has created an expensive dairy import system.

WHAT OLIM DO

By NICKY BLACKBURN

They want to prevent imports but I don't think this is necessary," says Choleva.

Undaunted, he plans to create next year a new marketing and distribution company for his cheeses with Food Club, which owns some 48 trucks. "It's a logical step," he says. "The market here is not as mature as elsewhere and supermarkets don't have the capacity to distribute products in a proper way. Many shops don't get products if the manager doesn't want them. They don't care about the customer. The agreement, he believes, will lead to an explosion in his business. Next year he predicts that sales will rise to NIS 40 million, and by 2000, will reach

Sales, however, were still expected to reach NIS 28 million for '98. "Turnover could have been better," says Choleva.

From 1994 until a few months ago the Danish Krona traded listlessly at a range of between 0.51 agorot and 0.54 agorot. Then, as the shekel depreciated in the wake of October's global financial turmoil, the krona leaped to 0.65 agorot. While his product prices have not gone up yet, the next shipment that Choleva brings in will reflect the changes. Some prices will go up by as much as 15 percent. "We don't know what impact it will have," he says candidly. Combined with the slowdown in Israel, Choleva concedes that the company has lost money this year.

NIS 50 million. "There's lots of potential to grow," he says. "We're in the initial stage of marketing. To help the company along, he plans an advertising and promotional campaign to draw attention to his products. He also aims to emphasize his branded products. More food festivals are also planned.

In the meantime he and his family remain some of his company's biggest customers. "We try not to eat too much but we do have cheese available at every meal," he admits.

BONN (Reuters) — Germany, which takes over the European Union's rotating presidency next week, said yesterday it would push proposals for greater tax harmonization in the 15-nation bloc despite resistance from other EU nations.

Finance Minister Oskar Lafontaine and Wolfgang Clement, the powerful premier of North Rhine-Westphalia state, said in separate newspaper interviews it is vital that the EU narrow wide gaps in tax levels to prevent economic distortions.

The Israel Airports Authority

PUBLIC TENDER NO. C4010055
MULTI-LEVEL ROADWAY & PARKING GARAGES

The Israel Airports Authority (IAA) hereby wishes to clarify one of the Pre-Conditions for Joint Venture Offerors for the Construction of this subject matter tender.

Only the complete language of the Pre-Conditions as stated in the RFP is binding. The complete text may be obtained by written request, submitted on company letterhead, to the PMF facsimile number stated below.

Exhibit A of Request for Proposals - Pre-Conditions
Clause 10 Item b). (Quality and Experience Requirements) should read:

Each JV participant must have constructed and completed not less than:

- Two (2) non-residential projects such as parking garages, office buildings, shopping centers, etc. of not less than 40,000 Square Meters (sq.m.) each, both within the last five (5) years.
- Or
- One (1) precast concrete bridge project of a minimum 70 meters length within the last five (5) years.

Both project types - 40,000 sq. meter "building" and precast concrete bridge - must have been completed within the combined Joint Venture.

Tender documents are available from the Project Management Firm (PMF) Project Office located at Ben Gurion International Airport between the hours of 08:00 and 12:00, business days (Sunday through Thursday). Interested Offerors must contact the PMF Contracts Administrator, Mr. Amnon Yossef at telephone number: 972-3-977-4464 (Fax number 972-3-971-2956) a minimum of forty eight (48) hours in advance to arrange Site access. Interested parties may preview the Tender Documents prior to their purchase.

This clarification will also be issued to all Offerors who have purchased the Tender Documents by an addendum.

199810_06_20

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Date: 24.12.98
Purchase Price: 126.40
Redemption Price: 124.57

MUTUAL FUNDS

LEUMI

PRIME (פרימ)

Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents

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Purchase Price: 123.79
Redemption Price: 123.11

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Chelsea, Villa, Utd lead chase at halfway mark

LONDON (AP) — Halfway through the campaign, five clubs are in strong contention for the Premier League title and the leadership could change hands three times in four days.

Having lost on Saturday to surrender top place to Chelsea, Aston Villa can regain the leadership by beating Sheffield Wednesday at Villa Park today.

But Chelsea, unbeaten since the opening day of the season, are in action again tomorrow when they host third place Manchester United and a victory at Stamford Bridge will put Gianluca Vialli's team top on goal difference once again.

Then there's a third scenario.

If Villa lose to Wednesday, United, who are two points behind them both, can go top by winning at Chelsea.

According to United manager Alex Ferguson, fourth-place Leeds and defending titlist Arsenal shouldn't be written off either. Both are four points off the lead and playing well.

On Saturday, Leeds won 3-0 at Ruud Gullit's Newcastle against a team fielding their £22 million strikeforce of Alan Shearer and Duncan Ferguson for the first time. Arsenal, with most of their stars returning to fitness, downed West Ham 1-0.

"It's looking very tight at the top," Ferguson said after his team outplayed last place Nottingham Forest 3-0 on Saturday helped by two goals from Norwegian defender Ronny Johnsen.

"Leeds United had a resounding victory at Newcastle and that was a heck of a result for them and of course we still have Chelsea, Aston Villa and Arsenal. I think consistency is the key factor now."

The bookmakers have Chelsea and Manchester United as co-favorites at 7-4 with Arsenal at 9-2 and Villa 11-2. Leeds, whose chances have been consistently downplayed by manager David O'Leary, are considered a 28-1 shot.

All 20 teams play two matches over the holiday period before they enter the FA Cup at the third round stage next weekend.

Villa took in a good position to regain the lead today despite their 2-1 loss at lowly Blackburn. John Gregory's team host a Wednesday lineup that slipped up 1-0 at home to Leicester on Saturday.

"We have had a few punches on the nose at various times — and we

have shown the characteristics to bounce back and win our next game. That is what we need to do against Wednesday," Gregory said.

"It is always difficult straight after a game to keep things in perspective because defeats don't happen very often to us. That was only our second away defeat in 15 Premier League matches."

The Chelsea-Manchester United confrontation tomorrow is the match of the week, coming only two weeks after the two teams tied 1-1 at Old Trafford.

Ferguson is worried about the fitness of Dutch defender Jaap Stam, Tobagan striker Dwight Yorke and Andy Cole, who all missed the victory over Forest, while Chelsea may have top scorer Gustavo Poyet missing. The tall Uruguayan midfielder, who has been one of Chelsea's most influential players in the team's climb towards the top, has a knee injury.

Poyet scored his 11th goal of the season in Saturday's 2-0 victory at Southampton which put Vialli's team top of the standings.

Leeds are not in action until tomorrow when they host Wimbledon and Arsenal will be confident of gaining three points at sliding Charlton today.

Barely a month ago, the Gunners had eight regular first teamers sidelined through injury. But now only goalkeeper David Seaman and center-back Tony Adams are out and Arsene Wenger's team is returning to the form that earned it the league and FA Cup double last season.

Down at the foot of the standings, last-place Forest host next-to-last Southampton. Only one point separates the two but there is a three-point gap immediately above the Saints and relegation is a strong likelihood for the loser of today's game at the City Ground.

Blackburn, who have climbed to fourth from last after two wins and two ties under new manager Brian Kidd, go to Leicester while third from last Coventry will have a tough game at seventh-place West Ham, who have lost once in nine home games.

In other games today, sixth-place Middlesbrough go to Derby. Newcastle visit Liverpool and Tottenham host Everton.

Division One leader Sunderland, whose 11-point lead has been cut to five after a tie with Birmingham and a surprise loss to Tranmere on Saturday, should bounce back with a home win over last-place Crewe.

Hasek outduels Brodeur in Sabres' win



EAST RUTHERFORD (Reuters) — Dominik Hasek outduelled Martin Brodeur on

the way to his league-leading seventh shutout and red-hot Miroslav Satan scored both goals as the surging Buffalo Sabres blanked the New Jersey Devils 2-0.

Hasek stopped 34 shots for his fourth shutout this month, 20th over the past two seasons and 40th of his career. He was at his best in the second period, turning aside 18 shots.

Rangers 6, Hurricanes 3 Petr Nedved and Adam Graves each scored twice as visiting New York scored six second-period goals to split their home-and-home series.

Islanders 4, Bruins 2 Zigmund Palffy helped New York end a six-game home winless streak with his first goal of the season and Mike Watt got the go-ahead tally with 10:10 to play.

Panthers 3, Lightning 1 Bill Lindsay scored two goals, including the game-winner 6:14 into the second period, leading Florida to a road win.

Canadiens 2, Maple Leafs 1 Montreal ended its 11-game winless streak as Stephane Quintal scored with 4:58 to play in its last trip to Maple Leaf Gardens.

Penguins 2, Senators 1 (OT) Jaromir Jagr scored 78 seconds into overtime as Pittsburgh won at home.

Flyers 3, Blackhawks 2 Eric Lindros scored a goal before getting ejected and John Vanbiesbroeck made 18 saves as Philadelphia extended its unbeaten streak to seven with an away win.

Stars 4, Avalanche 2 Brett Hull scored his second power-play goal of the game early in the third period as visiting Dallas run its unbeaten streak to 11.

Predators 3, Capitals 1 Tomas Vokoun came within 7:07 of the first shutout in team history as host Nashville racked



CRASH LANDING - Flyers' winger Valeri Zelepukin trips over Blackhawks defenseman Doug Zmolek in first-period action. Philadelphia edged Chicago 3-2.

up its first three-game win streak.

Blues 4, Red Wings 3 Red-hot Scott Pellerin scored twice to help host St. Louis deal

Detroit its season-high fifth straight loss.

Sharks 2, Canucks 0 Steve Shields made 25 saves for his first NHL shutout.

Also, the Phoenix Coyotes beat the Los Angeles Kings 2-1.

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Northeast Division

	W	L	T	GF	GA	PTS
Buffalo	19	6	5	87	51	43
Toronto	19	13	2	107	97	40
Boston	15	11	6	85	67	36
Ottawa	15	13	3	90	76	33
Montreal	9	18	7	73	96	25

Atlantic Division

	W	L	T	GF	GA	PTS
New Jersey	19	9	4	94	80	42
Philadelphia	16	9	8	91	73	40
Pittsburgh	14	10	7	85	84	35
NY Rangers	12	14	1	90	90	31
NY Islanders	12	19	2	86	98	28

Southeast Division

	W	L	T	GF	GA	PTS
Florida	16	14	5	89	84	37
Carolina	12	12	6	74	81	30
Washington	10	18	3	65	81	23
Tampa Bay	8	23	3	69	119	19

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Central Division

	W	L	T	GF	GA	PTS
Detroit	17	15	1	102	91	35
St. Louis	12	11	8	83	79	32
Nashville	13	16	3	78	97	29
Chicago	10	20	4	77	113	24

Northwest Division

	W	L	T	GF	GA	PTS
Colorado	14	16	3	77	83	31
Edmonton	14	16	3	91	89	31
Vancouver	13	16	4	94	97	30
Calgary	12	18	3	92	100	27

Pacific Division

	W	L	T	GF	GA	PTS
Dallas	21	5	6	98	65	48
Phoenix	20	6	4	89	54	44
Anaheim	13	12	7	74	73	33
San Jose	10	15	7	69	74	27
Los Angeles	10	21	3	74	93	23

Montreal 10-1-2
First Period-1, Toronto, Thomas 12 (Sundin, Modyk), 3:32. Second Period-3, Montreal, Quinn 1 (Kovach, 15:02). Shots on goal-Montreal 16-3-27, Toronto 9-11-10-30. Goalsies-Montreal, Huet; Toronto, Joseph, A-15,726.

Boston 011-2
N.Y. Islanders 2-2-2
First Period-1, New York, Palfy 1 (Chase), 5:57. Second Period-1, Boston, Palfy 1 (Chase), 10:54 (pp). Second Period-3, Boston, G. Taylor 3 (Bourque, Fennelly), 8:35. Third Period-4, Boston, Khabibulin 15 (Allison), 4:15. New York, Watt 2 (Haller, Lavigne), 2:50. New York, Lapointe 8 (Lindan), 14:51 (sh). Shots on goal-Boston 10-7-10-27, New York 5-8-21. Goalsies-Boston, Desha; New York, Fishery, A-15,174.

N.Y. Rangers 0-0-0
Carolina 1-2-3
First Period-1, Carolina, Kaprasen 8 (Shepherd, Primm), 8:00. Second Period-2, New York, Niedermayr 6 (Larson, Beukboom), 2:13. New York, Stevens 3 (Haller, Lavigne), 8:38. New York, Niedermayr 7 (Haller, Lavigne), 7:55. New York, Graves 14 (Primm, Beukboom), 9:00. New York, Niedermayr 15 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 16 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 17 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 18 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 19 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 20 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 21 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 22 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 23 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 24 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 25 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 26 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 27 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. New York, Niedermayr 28 (Haller, Lavigne), 10:00. 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Sports Editors
Joe Hoffman & Ori Lewis

Jets set franchise mark with 12th win



EAST RUTHERFORD (AP)—The last time the New York Jets finished a season so hot, they won their only Super Bowl.

With a history sprinkled with few successes and so many disappointments, finding highlights for the Jets never was an easy chore. That is, until this season, which they finished off in style yesterday, routing New England 31-10 behind Vinny Testaverde's four touchdown passes.

The Jets, 1-15 just two years ago before Bill Parcells took over as coach, set a franchise record with

their 12th victory. It was their sixth straight win, and their 12-4 record earned a playoff bye.

It's been 30 years, or since Joe Namath was in the midst of his Hall of Fame career, that the Jets were so strong.

Testaverde, in what he has called "a magical season," set a club record with 29 TD passes. His 12th pro season has been his best by far and much more than anyone could have imagined when he signed in June as a free agent to back up Glenn Foley.

The AFC's leading passer, Testaverde had touchdown passes of 4 yards to Kyle Brady, 8 to Curtis Martin, 17 to Dedrick Ward and 24 to Keyshawn Johnson. He was 17-for-27.

Another key free-agent addition

this year, Martin rushed 29 times for 102 yards.

And for all their firepower—416 points—the Jets also allowed the second-fewest points in the league, 266, trailing Miami by just one.

The Patriots (9-7) already had made the playoffs despite a rash of injuries to key players. Among the missing yesterday were quarterback Drew Bledsoe, wide receiver Terry Glenn and inside linebacker Ted Johnson. Without them—and with the Jets on such a roll—the Patriots had little chance.

Buccaneers 35, Bengals 0
Tampa Bay ignored the cold and got its biggest road win ever, then waited to see if it was enough to prolong its season.

Mike Alstott had two of his three touchdown runs during a 28-point first half that set up the most lopsided road victory in Tampa Bay's history.

After putting up the third shutout in franchise history, the Buccaneers (8-8) headed for Florida's warm weather where their season was over. They can clinch a wild card berth if the New York Giants won and Arizona lost in games that started shortly after the Buccaneers' ended (Full report in tomorrow's edition).

The Buccaneers got every break they needed from Cincinnati (3-13). The Bengals fumbled a punt, had another blocked, missed a field goal and lost another quarter-back to a hand injury as Tampa Bay rolled to a 28-0 halftime lead.

The smallest home crowd of the season watched Cincinnati finish 3-13 for the fourth time in the 1990s. The 40,000 or so fans booed each Bengal mishap and unfurled banners calling for Mike Brown to step down as general manager.

One banner summed up the season: Every Snap Prolongs Nausea.

Ravens 19, Lions 10
If Baltimore had played this well all season long, maybe Ted Marchibroda would have felt better about the Ravens' home victory.

Instead, he walked off the field with the understanding that the game might have well marked the end of his career as an NFL head coach.

Priest Holmes scored a touchdown and became the Ravens' first 1,000-yard rusher as Baltimore (6-10) closed a disappointing season by beating the error-prone Lions (5-11).

The Ravens led 16-0 in the second quarter, then let the lead dwindle to 16-10 before Matt Stover kicked a 30-yard field goal with 5:03 remaining to clinch the victory.

Falcons 38, Dolphins 16
Dan Reeves can worry about his recovery. The Atlanta Falcons are doing just fine without their coach.

While Reeves watched from home, missing his second straight game after heart bypass surgery, the Falcons finished out the best regular season in team history with a home rout.

Atlanta (14-2), had already clinched the NFC West, a first-round bye and No. 2 seed in the conference behind Minnesota. But Reeves, in a midweek telephone call, told his players that it was important to go into the playoffs on a roll.

What a roll it is. The Falcons stunned the turnover-plagued Dolphins (10-6) by jumping to a 21-0 lead just eight minutes into the game and enter the postseason with a nine-game winning streak.

The Dolphins still earned a home playoff game when New

Jerusalem rallies to reach semis

STATE CUP

What a difference 25 minutes makes.

Before the start of last night's State Cup basketball quarterfinal, Maccabi Ra'anana held an 18-point advantage over Hapoel Jerusalem after their first-leg matchup on Wednesday. But a Derrick Hamilton steal and slam five minutes into the second half gave Hapoel a 19-point advantage, 49-30, en route to a fantastic 85-51 thrashing at Malha.

The win propelled Hapoel into the State Cup semifinals. Jerusalem will be joined by Maccabi Tel Aviv, Ironi Ramat Gan and Hapoel Haifa.

Knowing it would take perfect execution on the court to advance to the semis, Efi Birnbaum's club delivered. Hamilton (21 points, 8-of-10 field goals), Radisav Curcic (17 points on only five field goal attempts) and H. Waldman (13 points, five rebounds) paced Jerusalem to another significant milestone in what has been a dream season.

In addition to the balanced offensive attack, Jerusalem outlasted (27-16 rebound advantage) and outclassed (20-9 vs. 8-14 assist-to-turnover ratio) the Ra'anana.

Even after Hamilton's basket gave Hapoel the margin it needed, the Jerusalemites continued to deploy the fast-paced offense that it had used from the outset. Over the next eight minutes, Hapoel's offense delivered five three-point possessions, with a Waldman trey hammering the final nail in the Ra'anana coffin.

Jerod Abram paced the losers with 14 points.

Hapoel Tel Aviv 90 Hapoel Haifa 76

Shimon Amsalem's 35 points weren't enough to help Tel Aviv overcome the 26-point deficit from Wednesday's game in Haifa.

By garnering the aggregate victory, Haifa insured that a Second Division club reached the semis for the third consecutive year. Coach Zvika Horovitz was the coach of Second-Division Kiryat Motzkin when it reached the semis two years ago.

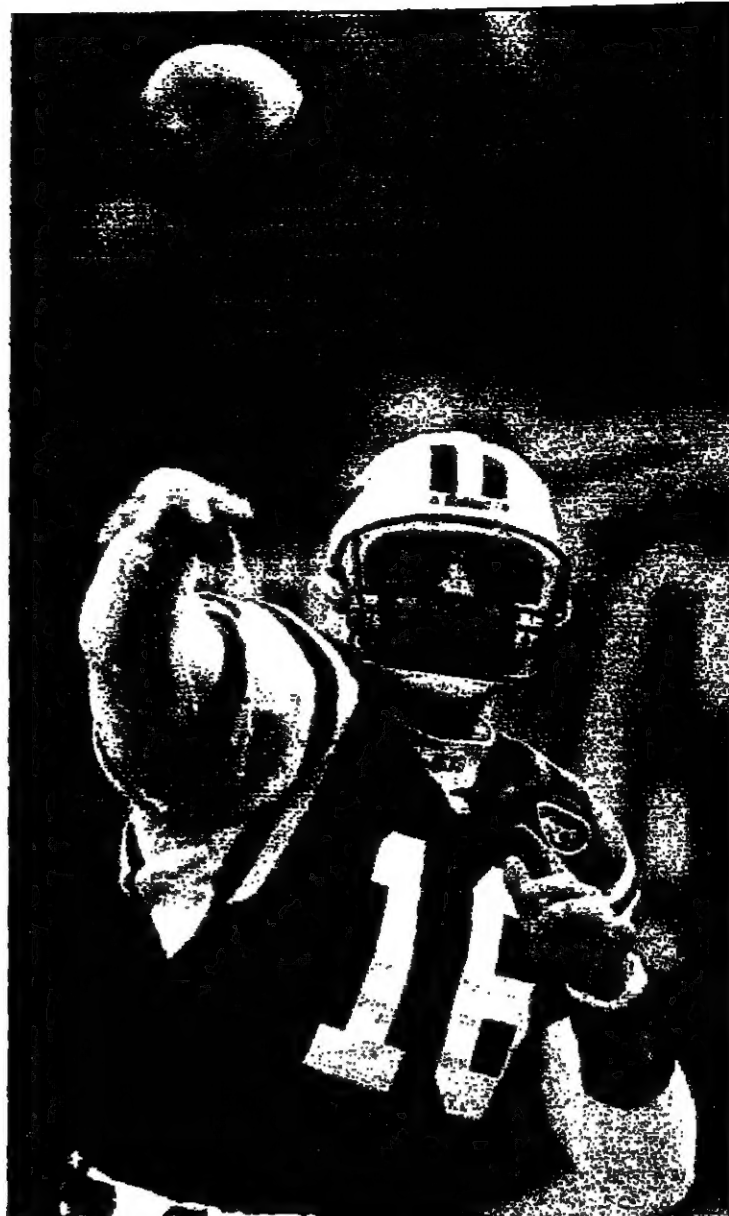
Ramat Gan 80 Hapoel Eilat 66

Ramat Gan overcame the one-point deficit from Wednesday night with ease, by whipping the southerners in Ramat Gan. Uri Cohen-Mintz paced the victors with 17 points.

Maccabi Tel Aviv 89 Rishon LeZion 80

Maccabi swept the two-game contest behind strong performances from Nadav Henefeld (19 points) and Derrick Sharp (18).

The semifinal matchups will be determined at a lottery which will take place at the National Basketball League offices at 2 pm today.



JETSETTER—Jets QB Vinny Testaverde completes a first-down pass to Keyshawn Johnson in last night's game against the New England Patriots. Testaverde passed for 4 TDs. (Reuters)

England lost to the Jets 31-10. Miami will play host to Buffalo next weekend.

Jamal Anderson carried 18 times for 103 yards, including a 36-yard touchdown. He set an NFL record for most rushing attempts in a season, finishing with 410 to eclipse by three the mark set by Tampa Bay's James Wilder in 1984.

In other games yesterday, it was Green Bay 16, Chicago 13; Carolina 27, Indianapolis 19; and Buffalo 45, New Orleans 33.

SATURDAY'S GAMES

Chiefs 31, Raiders 24
The Kansas City Chiefs, one of the biggest disappointments this season, extended their dominance of Oakland with an away win, giving Kansas City wins in 17 of its last 19 games against the Raiders.

Derrick Thomas returned a fumble 44 yards for a score, and Tony Gonzalez caught a 20-yard touchdown pass to break a fourth-quarter tie for the Chiefs.

Bam Morris had two 1-yard scoring runs and Pete Stoyanovich added a 30-yard field goal for the Chiefs (7-9). Elvis Grbac, in his first start since November 8, was 20-of-32 for 254 yards with two interceptions and the scoring loss to Gonzalez.

The Raiders lost two quarterbacks to groin injuries in the contest and finished the game with a third quarterback who has missed most of the season with a groin injury. Also standing on the sideline with a groin injury was running back Napoleon Kaufman, who missed the final three games of the season.

"We're going to have to find

some groin-strengthening machines or something. I've never seen anything like it," Raiders coach Jon Gruden said. "A lot of our salary cap was standing on the sideline with groin injuries."

Jeff George had a 15-yard scoring pass to James Jett and Wade Wilson threw a 13-yard touchdown pass to Tim Brown for the Raiders (8-8), who have not had a winning season since 1994—the year before they returned to Oakland from Los Angeles.

Randy Jordan added a 10-yard scoring run and Greg Davis kicked a 44-yard field goal for Oakland, which lost six of its final eight games.

In a game reported in yesterday's edition:

Vikings 26, Oilers 16

Randall Cunningham threw two touchdown passes, and Gary Anderson added three field goals as the Vikings won on the road, becoming the highest-scoring team in NFL history.

They topped the 1983 Washington Redskins' mark of 541 points with 556.

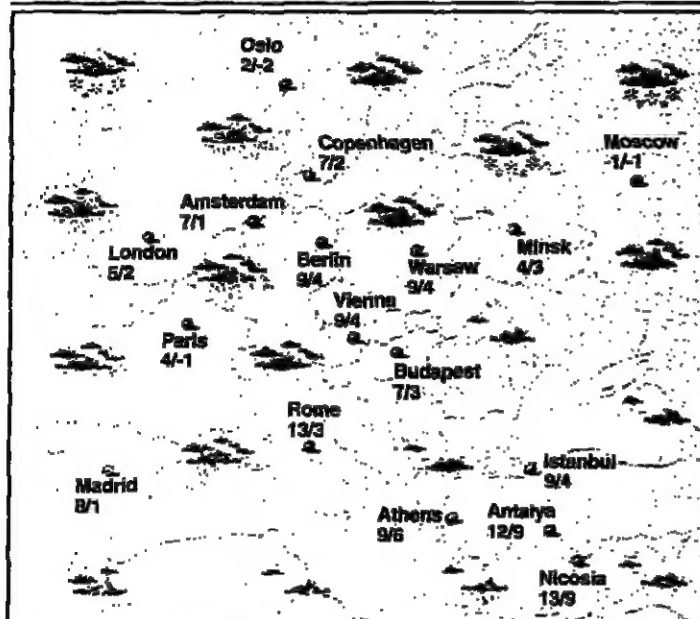
Minnesota (15-1) also tied the 1985 Chicago Bears and the 1984 San Francisco 49ers as the only teams with 15 victories in a season.

Anderson became the highest-scoring kicker in a season while extending his record of consecutive field goals to 40 over two seasons.

Anderson became the first NFL kicker to finish a season with a perfect record—35-of-35 on field goals and 59-of-59 on conversions.

He sealed the victory with a 39-yard field goal with 1:10 left.

EUROPE WEATHER TODAY



ISRAEL CITIES

City	Today High/Low	Today Low/W	Tuesday High/Low	Tuesday Low/W	Wednesday High/Low	Wednesday Low/W	Thursday High/Low	Thursday Low/W
Anet	16/1	5/4	16/1	4/3	16/1	4/3	14/7	2/3
Beer Sheva	17/2	5/4	16/1	4/3	16/1	4/3	16/1	5/4
Dead Sea	23/13	12/3	23/13	12/3	23/13	12/3	20/8	8/6
Eilat	22/1	12/3	23/13	12/3	23/13	12/3	20/8	8/6
Haifa	20/8	11/2	16/4	11/3	16/4	11/3	16/4	8/6
Jerusalem	15/9	5/1	15/9	4/3	14/7	5/1	13/5	3/7
Katzen	15/9	5/1	15/9	4/3	14/7	5/1	13/5	3/7
Netanya	18/4	8/4	17/2	8/4	16/4	8/4	17/2	7/4
Tel Aviv	18/4	8/4	17/2	8/4	16/4	8/4	17/2	7/4
Tiberias	20/8	8/4	16/4	7/4	16/4	8/4	16/4	4/3

INTERNATIONAL CITIES

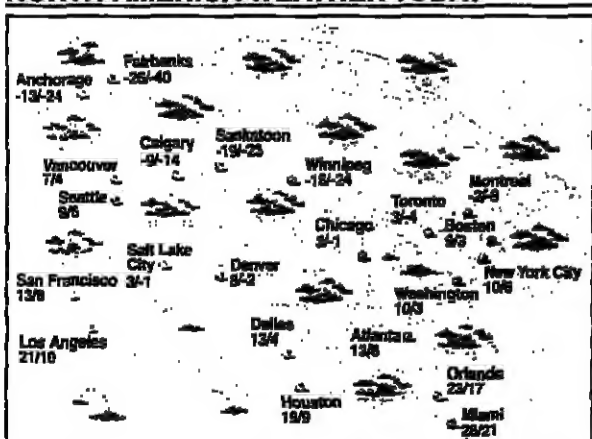
City	Today High/Low	Today Low/W	Tuesday High/Low	Tuesday Low/W	Wednesday High/Low	Wednesday Low/W
Amsterdam	7/4	1/4	9/3	4/3	9/4	1/4
Antwerp	5/1	1/1	3/7	7/2	3/7	4/2
Brussels	9/4	4/3	5/1	3/7	9/4	4/3
Card	18/4	9/4	17/2	8/4	16/4	8/4
Chicago	22/7	10/1	23/13	12/3	23/13	12/3
Frankfurt	9/4	4/3	4/3	2/3	9/4	4/3
Hong Kong	22/1	17/2	22/1	17/2	21/7	17/2
Johannesburg	22/1	17/2	22/1	17/2	22/1	17/2
London	5/1	3/2	7/4	4/3	7/4	4/3
Los Angeles	21/7	10/3	22/1	11/3	22/1	11/3
Moscow	9/4	1/4	9/4	2/3	9/4	4/3
Mexico City	23/7	7/4	21/7	6/3	16/4	4/3
Montreal	22/1	17/2	22/1	17/2	22/1	17/2
New York	13/5	3/7	12/3	3/7	14/7	4/3
Paris	10/3	3/7	5/1	1/4	9/4	2/3
Rio de Janeiro	26/4	22/7	26/4	23/7	26/4	23/7
Rome	13/5	3/7	12/3	3/7	14/7	4/3
Sydney	26/7	19/9	27/1	21/7	27/1	21/7
Tokyo	12/3	6/4	13/5	10/3	11/3	4/3
Toronto	3/7	4/3	3/7	4/3	3/7	4/3
Vancouver	9/4	4/3	9/4	3/7	9/4	3/7
Warsaw	9/4	4/3	9/4	3/7	9/4	3/7
Washington	10/3	3/7	9/4	3/7	7/4	3/7

THE WEATHER

ISRAEL
All maps, forecasts and data provided by AccuWeather, Inc. 9/1998



NORTH AMERICA WEATHER TODAY



THIS IS YOUR WEEK

(MILLION NIS)

For the Lotto



Mifal Hapayis

Drawing tomorrow • Draw No. 51/98

הכרזת מליון